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जनकलाल शर्मा

Edited by
Janak Lal Sharma

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Cave Burials From Western Nepal, Mustang

– Devendra Nath Tiwari

Tukuche or Tukucha (Chokhopani)

Latitude - 28°47' **Longitude – 83°43'**

The village Tukuche is situated on the right bank of Kali Gandaki and the cave burial site called Chokhopani is on the left bank of Kali Gandaki under the same village panchayat Tukuche. This village is in Mustang district of Dhaulagiri Zone. To reach on this site, left Pokhara via Birethanti, Ulleri, Shikha, Tatopani, (Hot Springs on the bank of Kali Gandaki River), Larjung and Tukuche. From Pokhara to reach upto the site it will take 4 days journey on foot. Rainfall min. 263, max. 347 (in 1968). The temperature of this place is sunshine, windspeed of higher Himalayas. Average of the annual temparature max. is 18.9°c and min. is 5.4°c.

The period of human history covered by annals is approximately 5,000 years long, reckoning from the creation of recorded history in Egypt to our day, while the period preceding the rise of a written language is believed to have lasted 400,000 - 700,000 years. (According to other calculations, mankind has been in existence for nearly a million years). Obviously, this enormous stretch of human history can only be studied on the basis of archaeological data. Written history embraces a little more than a hundredth part of history of the human race. However, archaeology can also provide valuable material for a study of the history of later periods that are comparatively close to us, the Middle Ages, for example. Written sources are sometimes to scanty for a study of considerable periods of history and sometimes they say nothing about many aspects of the life of society.

In so far as the term Pre-history is used, we may take it to mean the stretches of history which is not covered by written sources.

Burial mounds play as big, if not a bigger, role as the sites of settlements in bringing an archaeological culture to light. They yield a a profusion of data for the investigator, giving him not only an idea of the religious and burial rites of a remote age but also of the daily life of the people. Belief in an after life made people bury their dead with the things they used during their lifetime and which they might need in the

'next world'. For that same reason, tombs were built to resemble houses. When a woman died, she was buried with needle work, looking glasses and ornaments, a craftsman with tools, casting moulds or finished articles, a warrior with weapons, a king with his jewelry and numerous slaves and horses. By studying grave goods, it is possible to reconstruct details of life and to form some idea about the social system and economy. We say some idea because the objects found in burial mounds were not always taken from real life; sometimes very rarely it is true, they were especially made for the interment rite. Frequently, these were articles of a cult or even articles used in real life, but in very distant times. They survived in the funeral cult as a consequence of the conservatism of religious consciousness which retained out lived social and economic notions in its cult practice. On the other hand, the ethnographical features of a tribe are better revealed by burial grounds than by the remains of settlements. Moreover, burial grounds provide anthropological data, which give an idea of what the physical features of the population of a studied territory were like in each historical epoch.

Archaeological monuments also include the remains of workshops, mines etc. An archaeological monument usually lies hidden in the ground. How then, the reader may ask, do archaeologists learn of its existence ? Sometimes that happens by accident; when the ground is dug for a construction, project or after a slid caused by spring rains. The archaeologists usually learns of such a discovery from the local inhabitants.

The higher himalayan zone is located in the northern part of the country. The belt is approximately 15 kms. wide and stretches from the east to the west. Most of the snow covered peaks including the Mount Everest, the higher peak in the world are located in this same western part of the country. Equally fascinating is the several thousand feet deep Kali Gandaki gorge which is also located in this area. Snow line occures at 5000m. in the east to 4000m. in the west. Due to cold climate vegetation is limited to 4000m. and above this line grass and shrubs are seen upto 4500m. Villages are situated upto 3048m. (10,000 ft.). Mountain people grow barley, millet, potato and corn and rear Yak and sheep. They make their own cloth from the wool of the animals. People like colourful dresses. The Sherpas, the Thakalis, the Tamangs and the Gurungs of Mongoloid features and the different communities who live in this area and they have their own dialects. These people for their daily necessities like salt, oil and sometimes for cloths come down to the mid-land or in earlier times tarai market during the winter and exchange hide, musk and mountainous herbs and sometimes butter which they bring. Nearly 50 to 100 years back, rock salt used to come from the Tibet. Trade with Tibet was flourishing. People used to go to Tibet on foot for 15 or 30 days with load of rice to get it exchanged with the salt. When British built East India Company to railway line upto the Indo-Nepal, boarders, salt started coming from the samvar lake of India. Being cheap at the same time the Tarai being 5 to 7 days walk and also for cloth and oil, people started coming to the Tarai markets. With the result trade with Tibet become limited and diversified to India. Walangchung gola (Eastern Nepal), Namche Bazar, Lama Bagar, Rasuwa, Mustang and Humla which were the several pass routes to Tibet started weakening in business and Jhapa, Biratnagar, Rajbiraj (Old Hanuman nagar),Birganj,Butol,Koilabash, Baramdeomandi, located near Indo-Nepal boarder started flourishing.

At high altitude pine and rhododendron

are found in the shrub form, upto an elevation of 12000 ft. (3658 m.). The land above 15000 ft. (4573 m.) is covered with perpetual snow. The total area under snow is 21210 sq. km. which is nearly 14% of the Nepalese Territory. Most of the land in this area is unsuitable for agriculture. Local people use this high altitude area in rainy season (July to October) as grazing land. The topography is smooth where glacier ends, otherwise, most of the area is full of canyons, steep, cliff and hanging valley. There are numerous glacial lakes in this region. The climate over this part is alpine. In the higher mountains physical weathering by frost action is dominant and chemical weathering is virtually obsent. Rainfall is of the order of 500 m.m. and temperatue ranges minus 0^{o} to 11^{o} c. The soil development is poor. Being high altitude and consisting of rugged terrain roads in this area are few in number. Few stoll airports are developed Mustang (Jomsom). Before which walking on foot from the nearest airport to the area used to take 5 to 10 days for return journey. The area has very limited scope for economic development. Only dairy, mining, mountaineering and partly pulp industries can flourish. Herbs can help to some extent. At present mountaineering is becoming popular over the world and local people get some jobs with the mountaineers.

The life in this area is hard, food is not sufficient. Nearly 200 years back, prior to the introduction of potatoes, the life was really miserable,with the spread of potato agriculture, now mountain people get sufficient starch for their daily need. The people in the mountain are simple natured and of Mongolian in origin. Some are Buddhist and others are Pagan. Sherpas of Khumbhu have ghyan for worshipping Lord Buddha, others believe in ghost or black magic. When Buddhism spread to Tibet, they were also influenced. People in this area live in communities (like commune or Kibbuts of Israel) and are quite rigid in nature. Mobility is also limited. The culture and the tradition are mostly influenced from the north.

In the district Mustang, Tibetan influence, technical, cultural, religions came as far as the thak region. Customs, traditions and art are Tibetan. The history of the district, as in the other high altitude areas of Nepal, is intimately linked with religion. In Thakkhola, Thakalis are Mongolian clan and their dialect falls in Tibeto–Burman family and have four caste i.e. Tulachan, Sherchan, Gauchan and Bhattachan. They have co-operatives called Dingur, through which they lend the money for business purpose. They follow now Hindu religion whereas in earlier times they were bent upon Buddhism. Their main festival is Lhafewa and this comes once in 12 years. Punel (Pancha–gaonle) - they are similar to Thakalis and believe in Lamaism and have Hirachan (diamond), Jwarchan (Precious stone), Pannachan (emerald), Lalchan (ruby) titles and live between Tukuche and Kagbeni. Lowas of Mustang – Lowas are of Tibetan origin and are divided into Kudak, Selva and Righin.Kudaks are the ruler community of Mustang and marry in their own cast. Lowas have a polyandry (common wife among the brothers) and those who do not want to share go to another village for settlement. Their houses are coated with white clay Kaolin and are stone flat roofed. White flag printed holy verses are found fluttering in all the houses. And houses are connected and built side by side being this area windy the houses do not have window except tiny holes for ventilation and have houses facing in all direction but the south. Lowas have standard rules to build the houses in their fort city. For rich and respectable family 3 storeys, medium 2 storeys and lower cast no house. Drinking Water is always a problem. Lowas have rules of inheritance.

The eldest son will be owner of paternal property, whereas second son will be Lama (Mouk) and rest of the sons can share either one. After the marriage of eldest son the father virtually retires from family life. Male and female both keep long hairs, wear coat and Docha (Woolen long boot). For outsider it is difficult to distinguish. They wear necklace of the large beads of Hainam (china) Torquise and wear torquise studded belt. They celebrate four main festivals i. e. Gine, Niune, Gainsu and Gelung.

Ever since the publication in 1872 of James Fergusson's Classic Work Rude Stone Monuments in all countries; their age and uses, interest in the study of megaliths has been steadily increasing. It is a curious reflection though that this swift enlargement in the understanding of the subject simultaneously posed intriguing problems, notably those relating to the origins and apparent inter-relationship between the common phenomena present in the monuments of different countries. We have no doubt travelled a long way from the days of hyper-diffusionists like Elliot Smith and W. J. Perry who thought without any pretence at scientific method that megalithic monuments all over the ancient world with the apparent wide diversity of form had been diffused from ancient Egypt. It must be averred that magalithism is not an easily assimitable tale but represents a widespread phenomena; its geographical and chronological significance varies from place to place. Due to the unremitting efforts of many workers in the field, especially during the last two decades or so, the general aspects of the problem have, however, begun to take shape. At the same time, a synthetic account of the scattered facts with a view to reconstructing a series of events is at present fraught with risks. With a view to promoting such studies, the International Commission for Megaliths has now been formed, as proposed at the Second International Congress of Archeo-Civilization. It is now hoped that co-ordinated effort would be directed for the appraisal of such problems as classification and distribution of megaliths all over the old world and the new.

Types of Megalith

A general term connoting all types of burial or commemorative monuments, including urn-burial, in whose construction stones of huge sizes have been used.(From Greek megas= large, lithoi=stone).

Cairn

A tumulus of heaped up stone rubble.

Cairn - Circle

A cairn circumscribed by one or more circle of stones.

Capst - One

The top covering stone of a cist,dolmenoid cist, pit etc.

Cist

A box-like underground chamber generally built of a single stone-slab for each side and with a capstone. It may also have a floor-slab. Sometimes a small opening, port-hole of varying shapes viz, circular, semicircular, trapezoidar, etc, in one of the side-slabs, usually in the east, is found. The semi-circular port-hole is always located at the top of the orthosat just below the capstone. A cist with a port-hole is known port-holed cist. Cists may or may not be bounded by a circle of stones. Cists are found to have partitioned in several chambers along the longer axis, (Nagarjunakonda) and sometimes in two tiers as well. (Gajjalakonda).

Sometimes an antechamber is attached to one side. Such a cist is known as transcepted cist with antechamber.

Cist – Circle

Cist circumscribed by a circle of stones.

Dolmen

A chamber built over the natural ground level with several orthostats and covered by a capstone comprising one or more stones; cair filling or the presence of port-hole being optional. Likewise it may or may not be surrounded by a circle of stones.

Dolmenoid - Cist

A burial chamber constructed of stones both for the orthostats and capstone and circumscribed by a circle of stones and covered with stone rubble. This is subdivided into three varieties :

a) of dressed laterite - dressing being confined to the inner–side only and with granite floor-slab,

b) built partially over the ground with major portion of orthostats and the capstone being visible, and

c) the one with the capstone flush with the cairn filling.

Hoodstone

A dressed lateritic stone of the shape of a low domoresting on its flat bottom over the ground and usually concoaling a burial pit. In appearance it resembles the local handteless umbrella made of leaves. A varient is the multiple hoodstone where a circle of 'sectorally dressed clinostatic lateritic stones' coverging towards the top but leaving a big gap encloses several hoodstones.

Menhir

A monolith, usually undressed, planted as a memorial stone usually these are of laterite.

Rock – Cutcave

Method of construction of those found at Chovvannur, Kandanissery, Kakkad, Porkalam, Eyyal and Kattakampal has been given. The caves has been classified into :

i) Caves with central pillar,
ii) Caves without pillar,
iii) Caves with top opening, and
iv) Multi–chambered caves. Vedic and Buddhist origin of these caves have been discounted in favour of megalithic origin. Typological evolution would be as under :
   a) Benched port - holded cists;
   b) Caves with central pillar;
   c) Caves without pillar;
   d) Caves with top opening; and b, c further developed into multi-chambered caves. according to Prof. Y. D. Sharma.

It is an underground chamber consisting of an entrance shaft from ground level and an entrance doorway leading to the chamber proper. The chamber takes several shapes, circular, oval, oblong,etc. In a few cases, ledges, foot-holets or step are cut in the entrance shaft. In the chamber itself benches are to be found. In some a central pillar or a circular hole at the top is present. Rock-cutcaves are single, double and multi-chambered. However, entrance shaft to the cave chambers is common. In the multi-chambered variety the chambers are on either side and ahead of the shaft, and are entered through seperate doorways located in the entrance shaft. In the double–chambered variety the second chamber is on one side of the shaft. In rare cases the caves are surrounded by a

circle of stones. But the rock-cutcave of Chokhopani was covered by a capstone. About the chambers of the cave it is very difficult to determine because of that, fully dislerbed by the Small Water Electricity Project.It was discovered accidently when this project was working on this site. After the discovery they shifted and chosen another place for small water electricity. It is about 40 metres from the bed of Kali-Gandaki.

Analysis of the finding objects

To an archaeologist pottery is one of the most important artifacts. Owing to its almost imperishable nature, as it is well-baked in fire, a pot, or even its fragments, is sufficient to indicate the age of a site,the culture changes it has undergone, the fashion and customs of the time it relates to and above all help search for new sites. Pottery relics are often the only evidence of the bygone civilizations. More than any other antiquity pottery helps in establishing a cultural sequence of an ancient site. Conclusions based on the ceramic evidence are much more reliable than any other. The food habits of the people, their religions and social customs, the technological advancement attained by them, and even their economic condition can be judged by the various types of vessels including the funerary and votive vessels then in use.

Pottery is another window which enables us to see the artistic accomplishment. Contemporary literature has references to the use of pottery. The rich harvest of pottery from the archaeological excavations proves its popularity in domestic life. The literary allusions to potters, specialised in making different types of pots are many. Since its origin pottery has been mainly the handiwork of the females. The Rajatarangini speaks of the potter-women, while the Naishadhacharita refers to the potter's equipment of wheel and rod and the technique of firing the pots in Kilns. The epigraphs make mention of the potters and their well-organised guilds, which reveal that the art of pottery was not just an every-day craft, but an art with its own techniques of selecting clay, preparing the raw material, using the potter's wheel, evolving forms, preparing colours, designing paintings, adding of degraissant, and the use of Kilns. For socio–economic ends, the potters organised themselves into guilds. The delicate pots, often found in old collections, reveal the sophisticated taste of the society.

The rock - cutcave burial contained :

a. Fragments of two skeleton.
b. Hand - made grey vases.
c. Copper-implements and earring.
d. Shell-ornaments.
e. Wooden spoon.
f. Stone arrow head.
g. Musk-deer teeth.

Joined Pottery–

The typical joint pottery of this site is one of the most important objects for the megalith. These are hand-made potteries. The body of the vessels (Lotas) is grey and the clay is coarser than the one employed for the wheel made. The vessels ware were fired entirely under reducing conditions after burning the surface when leather hard. These globular joined potteries got connected hole (Pl. – 1A). Such type of vessels are also discovered from the Southwark, which has three cups standing on a hollow ring into which there is a connection vial a hole in the foot of each cup (Pl. 1B)

Globular Pots or Small Jars

a) These are the another main potteries from the site. The most common shape pots, of

various sizes with round bases and flaring lips, with grafitti design criss-cross and equally 6 perforated hole at the lips for the hanging it for safety the body of the vessel is grey and the clay is coares than the one employed for the Red and Buff wares (Pl. – 2A).

b) Same type of various sizes with round bases globular pots are noticed in large numbers. It has flaring lips and one handle attached to the neck and another on shoulder. It got also thached impressions on the vessels (Lotas) (Pl. – 2B & C)

c) Spouted pots as same type and technology as mentioned before it, the change is only, the perforation at the centre of the spout. It is high necked and rounded base. (Pl. – 3A).

d) There were two main types of bowls. The first is channel spouted bowls with handle which were used for pouring sauces. Its rounded in-turned sides and flattish bottom like the half of a sphere. There are thick sides. With high or low wall and degrees of concavity, these provide a very large variety in which the artist showed his skill.

In the second variety the bowl, whether shallow or deep, its sides out-turned, in-turned or concave, has a high or low foot or pedestal.

These channel spouted bowls with handle were used for pouring sauces. The synthesis between the pouring and the channel mouth was determined by an instinctive relationship established by the imagination between a delicate and a rough outour (Pl. – 3B). Bowls with splayed and slightly internally thickened rim and flaring sides are also noticed (Pl. 3C).

The channel spouted bowls with handle appear in Pl. 2B&C at Navdatoli.It can safely be inferred that they were a local manufacture, rather than an import. The channel is open, with a solitary exception of a spout with circular outlet. In India, spouted vessels are reported from Daimabed, Gilund, Rajar Dhibi, Chirand and Oriyup (Bihar). Though, except for a metal type from Khurdi, all other parallels are distant. Sharma (Sar 67–68) has drawn attention also to the so-called channelled bowl from Patapadu. But this bowl is only lipped, and not spouted.

Copper – Object

The copper objects are a polemical problem indeed, there is no end to controversies in the absence of objective stratigraphic evidence; at the moment the conjectures hold the sway. And may be that we have to add a few conjectures of our own, though they would be technologically biased. A very remarkable finding from this rock–cut–cave is copper–belt for the protection of chest during the hunting time. It looks like an anthropomorphic figure with four conical (Previously it is noticed from Lothal and Doab Zone, India). In the Doab Proper these are three main copper Hoard types – viz haspoons, anthropomorphic figures and antennac swords. The copper belts which are noticed from the Chokhopani, its weight is about 1.650 kgs. and the height is 38 cms. (Pl. – 4A). The second types of the copper objects are amulets (Pl. – 4B) In prehistoric, the people may be used such type of earring. (amulets).

Shell Object

In the north the cakareous horizon is developed before the migmatite zone. Above this zone lies the Tethys & ediments mostly of paleozoics (silurian) as Graptolites and Trilobites are found. Above that lies the Triassic and Jurassic Ammonites and cretaceous sandstone.

The cretaceous is succeeded immediately by recent sediments.

Due to the zone during ancient time here shell is available very easily. So the people of this place used the shell ornaments are in good numbers. Most of the ornaments are made by shell.(Pl. 5A,B & C).During that time they were used as necklace.

Arrow – Head

Apart from the distinction of finding antiquities the more interesting is stone arrow head. (Pl. 6A). It is made by granite stone, with well pointed. Some of them have four corners and rest are rounded in form. One side is well pointed and another is blunted for keeping on hook.

Musk – Deer Teeth

Such type of the Musk-deer are still available in this region. At that time the people were using the teeth of the musk-deer for the ornaments as necklace. The people ate the flesh of musk–deer, and the skin may be used for the dresses. At this time it is very useful for perfumery (Pl. – 6B).

Wooden–Spoon

Fragment of a wooden's spoon has also been noticed from the site. It is broken in several pieces. One side it got very beautiful carving. Its length is 35 cm. (Pl. – 7)

Fragments of Burial

The rock–cut–cave burial contained the skeleton,on the basis of the finding remains it is very difficult to determine its age, sex and race. In the collection there are some pieces of skull, scapulla, one piece of upper jaw (teeth) and two pieces of lower jaw. On the basis of these two lower jaw it is certain that in this cave burial the people of that time buried two burials at a time. (Pl. 8A). There are some long bone also which were feumer, tibia and meta tarsols. All are under the process of fossilization (Pl. – 8B).

Chronology

Archaeology has borrowed its chronological concepts from geology. But the geological strata and periods have global validity, not so the archaeological ones.

Stratigraphy or succession of deposits gives us a temporal sequence. Though, in practice, the mounds are disturbed by all sorts of pits and dumps. Strata, in the excavations, are mainly recognised by floor levels, structures, foundation trenches etc. quite often, the archaeologist decides the change of the stratum on the basis of the 'feel' in such cases subjective element cannot be excluded.

For a single site, the stratigraphy is really useful. But problems arises when a culture is composed with others. For correlations, use is made of type – fossil, the strata in which they occur are regarded as homotoxical. "Phenomena representing the same stage in an evolutionary series should be called systadial. Those occupying the same relative position in parallel typological or stratigraphical sequences may be termed as homotoxical."

The methods are mainly based on chemical analysis and are useful for bone dating. This is a 'relative dating' method and not 'chronometric' as the C^{14} technique is the bones thus analysed give dates with respect to the environment. For this reason, it is preferable to assay simultaneously for nitrogen,flourine and uranium. The bones contain organic fraction called collagen and inorganic portions of hydro-xyapatite and calcium carbonate. Bones alter chemically when buried. The degra-

dation of collagen, though widely divergent in different regions, is more or less uniform for a given locality. The rate of the decay of collagen can be estimated by the nitrogen assay of bones.

Sankalia is conscious of the late dates of these western parallels. To cxplain the paradox he opines "that Navadatoli Vessel is not a direct copy of any one vessel from any particular site in Iran, but the adaptation of the idea which was current in Iran and Western Asia as far Crete."

If the 'teapot' type is included in the category of channel spouted vessels, then one can push back their antiquity. Gordon has traced the origin and spread of the 'tea pot' type and classified it in these groups on the basis of the ratio of open to enclosed (tubular) portions of the spouts. He places them in crete 2400 – 2100 B. C., in Greece 2000 – 1800 B. C., in Asia minor and Syria 2100 – 1700 B. C.; and in Palestine 1850 – 1700 B. C.

The megalithic tombs of the Indian Peninsula by their lavish iron and copper equipment appropriate to the Iron Age, while those of Europe are assigned to the Stone Age (Neolithic). Whereas the latter fall in the chronological range from third to first half of the second millennium B. C., the initial date of the former, on the contrary, can hardly be put much earlier than eight – ninth century B. C., the current date being only third century B. C. In this connection, the evidence from the Necropolis B, Sialk VI (1000–800 B. C.). Where the use of iron is also attested, is very tantalizing indeed. In a recent analysis the cairn–burials of Baluchistan have been suggested to provide the necessary link as also the inspiration for the megalithic concept. This postulate, for being accepted as final, needs more curcumspective examination.

The plentious iron equipment in the peninsular megalithic burials can be studied in the wide context of the introduction of iron in India. On the basis of literary evidence a date around 1000 B. C. was once suggested.

Conclusion

The Pre–history of Nepal is thus based essentially on objects found by chance or on those remains which have survived. For the moment, therefore in the absence of exact points of reference and objects which can be dated with certainly a situation about which these will be more to say later–any division into a prehistoric and a protohistorical must necessarily be very uncertain. Until systematic excavations have been carried out, however, we shall be unable to determine with certainty whether all the objects to be discussed in this chapter date from the pre-historic period. Some of them, indeed, do undoubtedly date from the copper times and thus fall within the Prehistorical period. All that can be said, therefore, is that although the dating of these objects is speculative and uncertain they do nevertheless from a distinctive group which in general bears no relationship to the arts and crafts of Nepal as we know them material which can be dated with certainty and is fully in line with articles of known function which are familiar to us in the historical period.

Caves, sometimes, in occuring in isolation and sometimes in groups, are very numerous in Nepal. A troglodytic centres are found at Lo (Blo, Mustang), north of Tukucha i. e. where the Tibetan language is still spoken. The Tibetan hermits were accustomed to spend much of their lives meditating in caves; and the Lepchas of Sikkim believe that men come down from the summits of the mountains into a cave and then return to the mountains after their death.

Outside India such open channel spotted bowls and vessels are found in Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Crete (C. 2,500 B. C. – 2,000 B. C.), Antalolia and Iran. But it is with the types from Sialk Necropolis B and Giyan that the analogy is very close. A bowl from Giyan without the handle would be an exact counterpart of the one from Navdatoli. No Carbon 14 dates are available for the Iranian sites. These have been dated on a comparative evidence to a period between 1,200 B. C. to 700 B. C.

Since the dates for the Iranian Channel Spouted bowls, on the present evidence are later, we cannot postulate a direct influence, from that country, but there is little doubt, if we also take into consideration the goblets or wine cups and the funnelled mouth.

On the basis of all the objects which were recovered accidently, it needs more investigation and exploration around this region. It is a rock cut-cave burial site, there must be the habitational place also. So, that for the archaeologist it is the most important work to explored the habitational area. But on the above examine of the objects the date of this cave burial will go about 1,000 B. C. to 4th C. B. C. From this site the iron is absent and only the copper is appeared, the pottery of grey ware is also hand-made only. The more interesting find is the chert arrow-head. So to know the formation the more exploration and investigation is essential for this work.

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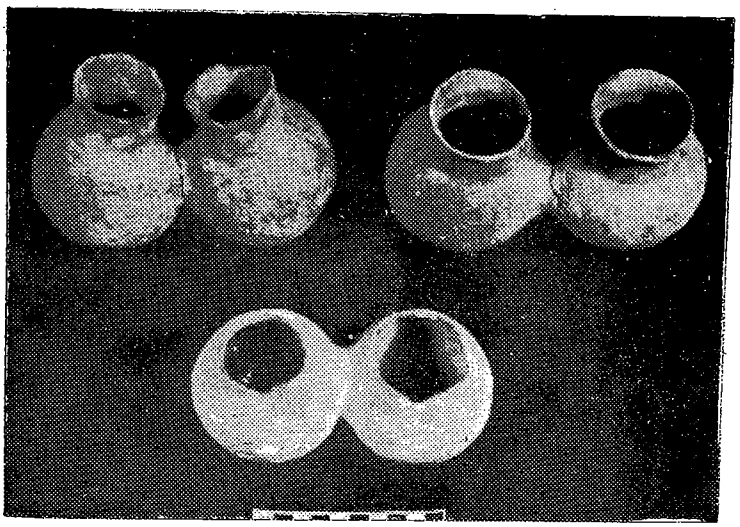
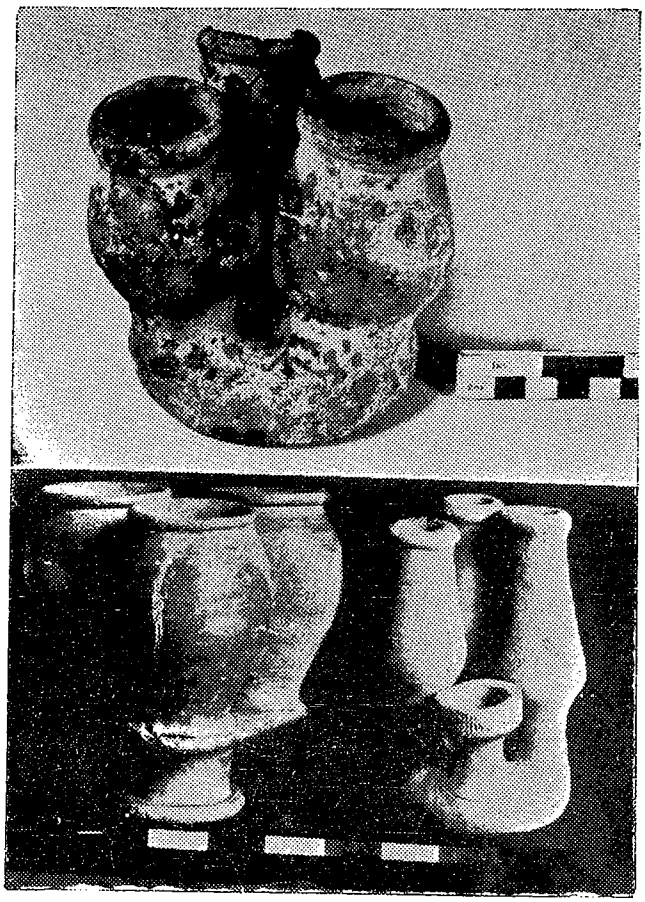
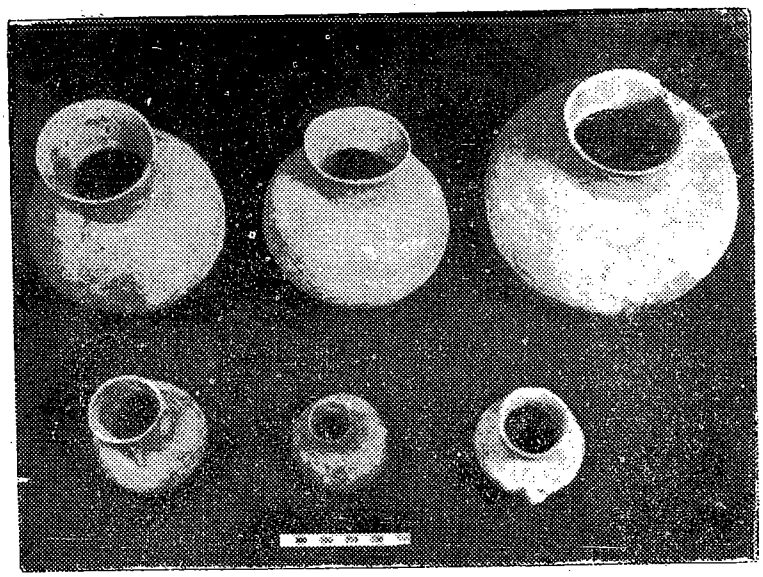


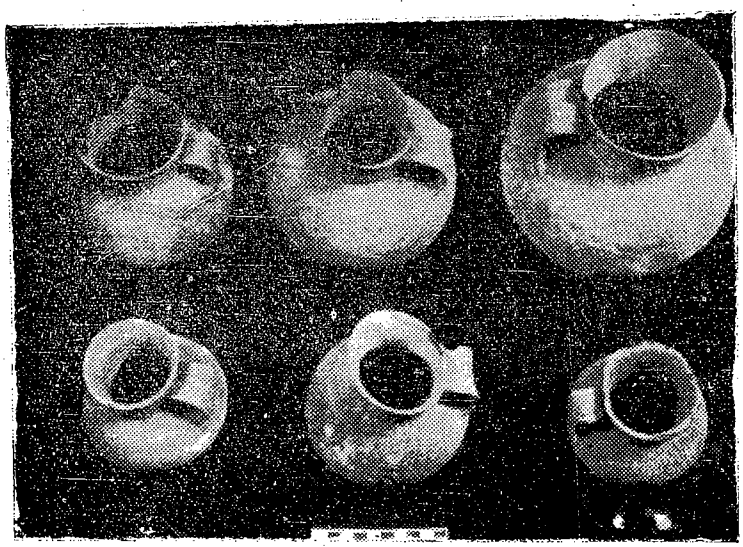
(A) Twine Joined Vases with connected hole



(B) Tripple Vases, standing on a hollow right with connected hole in the padestal, (Courtsey – The Museum of London, London. From the southwark excavation; copyright: The Museum of London).



(*A*) *Globular Pots and Small Jars*

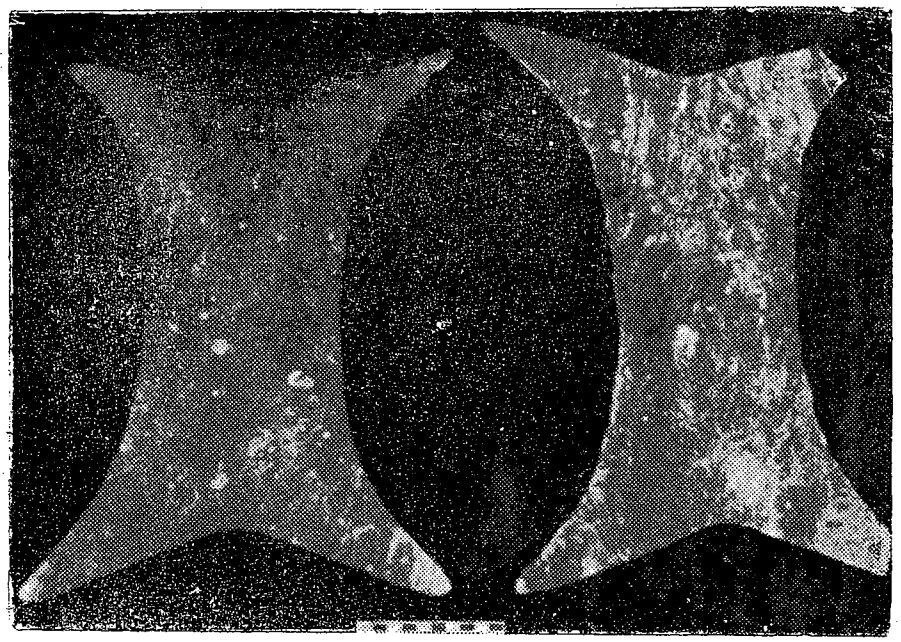


(*B*) *Globular Pots with handle*

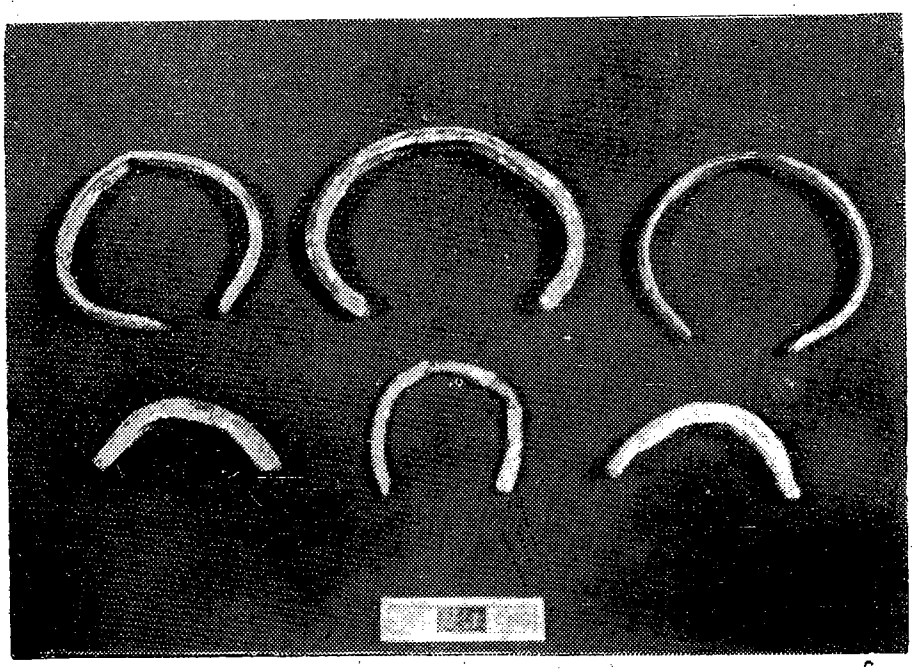
(*C*) *Small Globular Pots with handle*

(*A*) *Spouted pots*

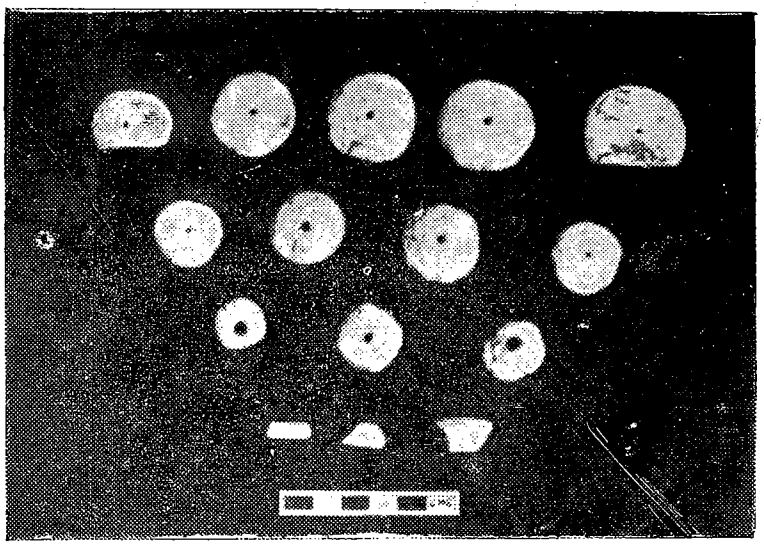
(*B*) *Channel spouted bowls, bowls and small pot with handle*



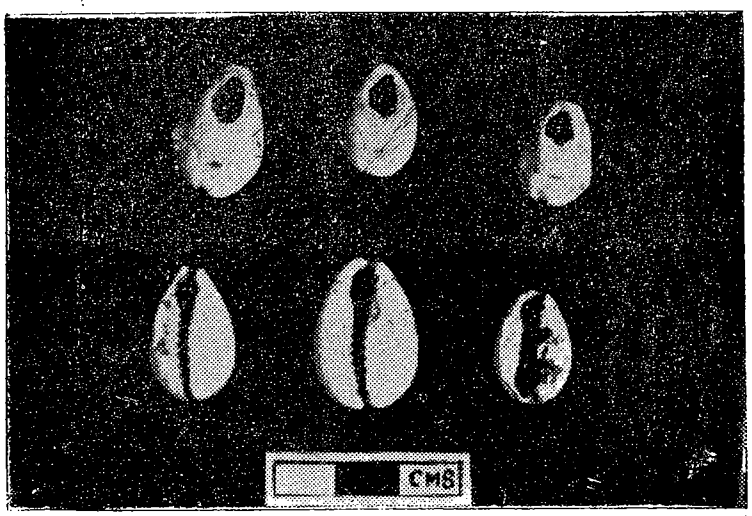
(*A*) *Anthropomorphic figures of Copper*



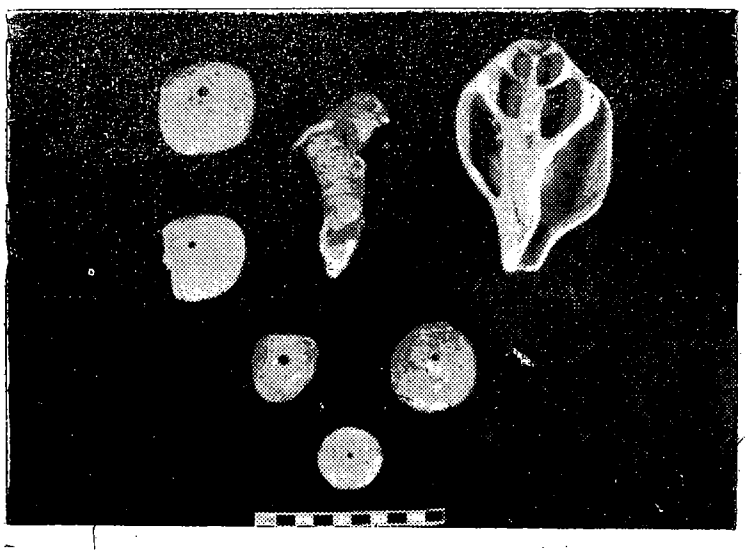
(*B*) *Copper amulets* (*earring*)



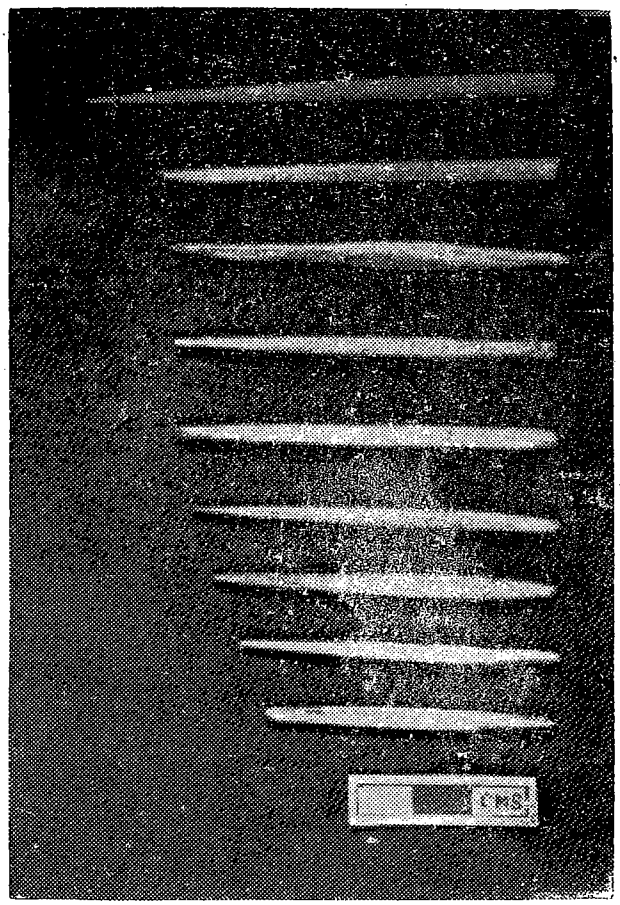
(*A*) *Shell for necklace*



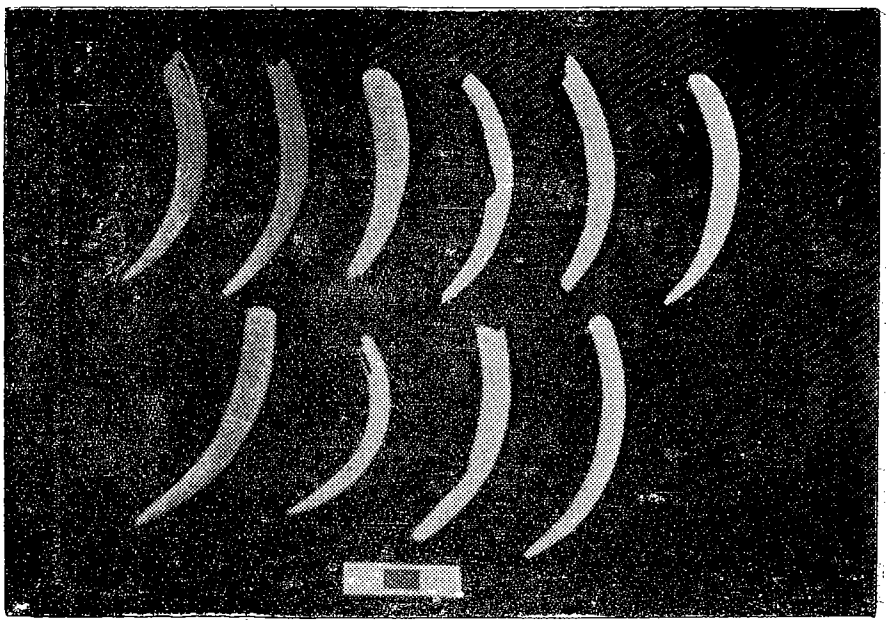
(*B*) *Shell with Performation*



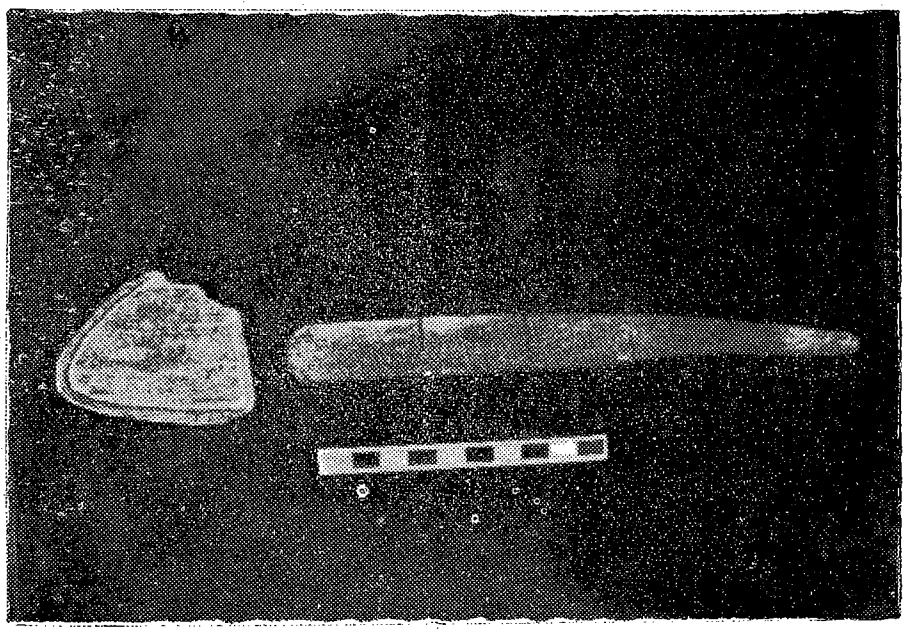
(*C*) *Shell, under the stage of preparing the ornaments*



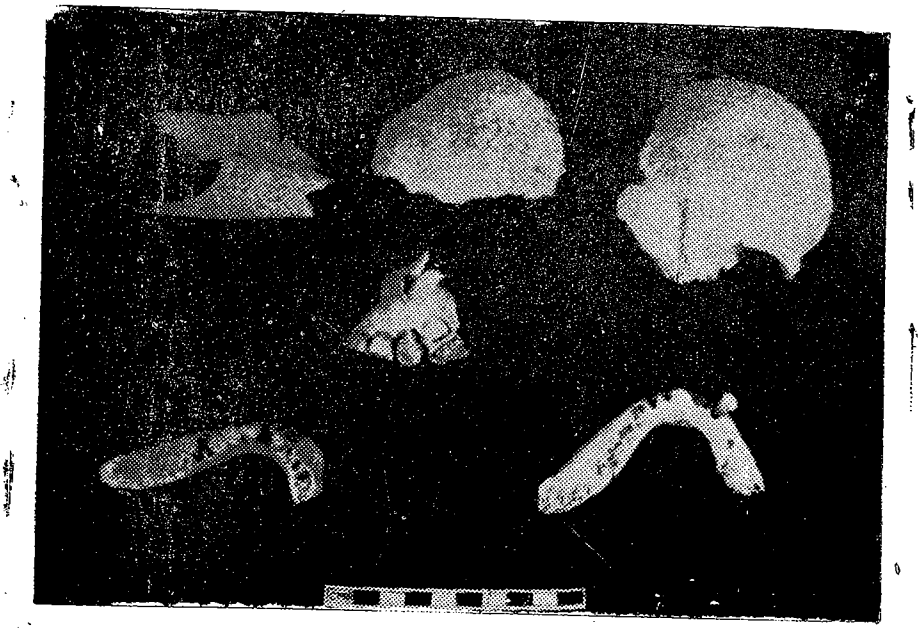
(A) Arrow head of chert



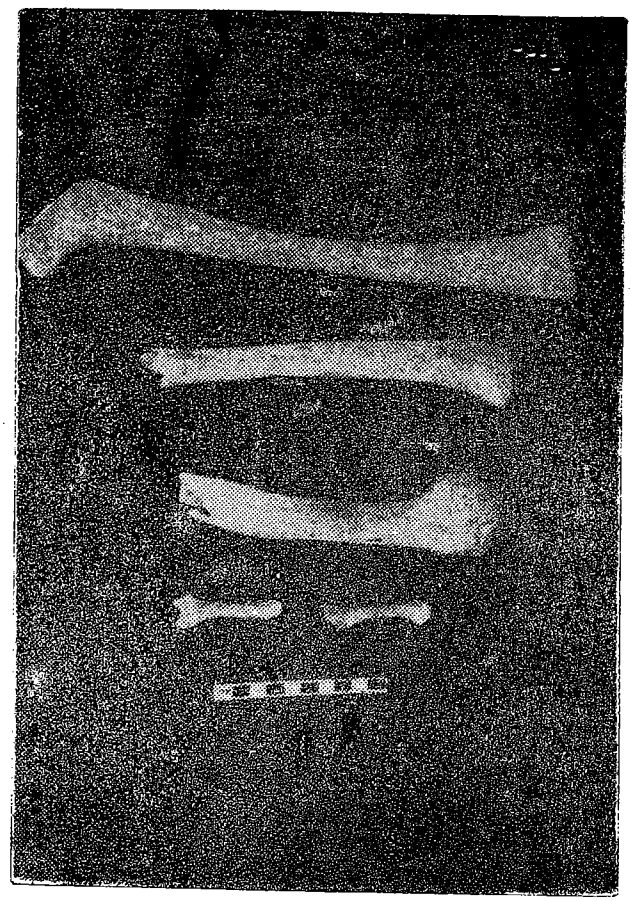
(B) Musk deer teeth



Wooden Spoon



(A) Fragments of Skull, Scapulla and Jaw



(B) Long Bones and Meta tarsols

Report on the Monuments of Northern Nepal

(Research in Rasuwa, Nuwakot, Sindhu Palchok, Kabre, Dolakha, Manang Districts)

- Corneille Jest
(Centre National De La Recherche Scientifique, Paris, France)
Kathmandu / Paris, December 1981.

Summary of Recommendations

To strengthen the present cultural heritage conservation programme in the northern regions of Nepal, the following actions are recommended :

- The creation of a research unit in the Department of Archaeology to make an inventory of the cultural property. The unit should include an architect specialized in restoration, an epigrapher, a specialist in the humanities (history,religion and ethnology),a photographer specialized in the photographing of mural paintings and images, a master craftsman.

The unit's work will consist in the pursuance of a systematic inventory of cultural property in all the districts.

For each monument and each site a considered statement of facts is essential in order to set up guildelines for the restoration.1

A translation of this document in Nepali and Tibetan for distribution among the local authorities would be invaluable.

The research unit will also compile a list of the craftsmen belonging to the various corporations by region and by group of villages. These craftsmen will be needed for repair work and they could also promote local production of traditional objects likely to interest tourists.

All available building materials should likewise be listed.

- The constitution of a special team to intervene in matters related to the maintenance and restoration of imperilled monuments. In some regions, protective measures should be taken immediately, particularly where buildings or ruins need to be protected from rain or movable objects safeguarded from theft or pillage, the most vulnerable being paintings, statues and books.

1. See : C. Jest, *Northern Monuments of Nepal,* UNESCO, Paris, 1981.

Should the Nepalese government consider it worth while, a single monument might be selected in each district for restoration by specialists so as to serve as an example to be followed.

Periodical inspection tours would also fall within the responsibilities of the team, and its head would be empowered to act as advisor after an examination of the problems with the local authorities.

– The establishment of a permanent consultative bureau where local authorities and chiefs of districts could obtain the assistance and cooperation of specialists, architects, conservators, restorers, etc. When major repairs are being done, certain modern improvements such as fire walls and anti-earthquake reinforcements may well be considered applicable.

– The organization of a propaganda campaign aimed at the responsible authorities, the general public and the school children by means of audio-visual media, exhibitions, lectures and seminars on the theme of conservation.

It is conceivable that seminars will be an opportunity to present special facets of conservation. Several topics worthy of illustration naturally come to mind, e. g. the utilization of new building materials with their advantages and pitfalls, the protection of wooden structures, mural paintings, etc.

The members of the communities must assume themselves the protection of monuments and culture.

– Close liaison between the preservation specialists and the tourism authorities. Buddhism and the environment are the two poles of attraction for cultural tourism. The monuments of Northern Nepal are always set in an exceptionally beautiful landscape. The problem of safeguarding the cultural heritage as well as permitting access to it today has assumed the character of an emergency and demands thought.

In addition, it would be useful to train certain members of the community as guides.

A specific legislation should be conceived. Some of the temples should be listed as "national monuments" and taken over by the Government (such a procedure has already been adopted in several countries, for example in Japan).

The next step should be the continuation of the general census of the districts which have not been surveyed yet.

Introduction

Terms of Reference

In 1978, His Majesty's Government of Nepal, with the help of UNESCO, decided to develop an inventory of the monuments of Northern Nepal, especially in the Buddhist areas.

A first action was taken including the elaboration of a method of investigation; field studies, classification of documents and promotion of the idea of conservation.

In a second phase (1980-81), further field trips have been made, discussions and meetings with decision makers held and a strategy for implementation elaborated and proposed. The present report concerns this second phase.

In advancing in the research one must draw attention to the extreme diversity of the mentalities in Northern Nepal which are due to differences in ecological and cultural environments and the influence of one or another religious leader.

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Annapurna 8078
Machhapuchhare 6997
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Ghanpokhara
Pamdur
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Pokhara
Kunchha
Nuwakot
Gurkha
Arughat
Dhading
KATHMANDU
Nagarkot
Bhatgaon
Patan
Thankot
2758
Nawakot
Helmu
Chautara
Kusawati
Khandrang Garhi
Chisapani Ghari
Dhorsing
Ramechhap
Sundhuli Ghari
Tansing
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Narayani
Rapti
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Bhikna Thori
Amlekhganj
Simra
Birganj
Narkatiaganj
Jaleswar
Jay
Kyirong
Shisha Pangma 8013
Ganesh Himal 7406
Rasua Garhi
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Lapche
Nangpa La 5805
Cho Oyu 8153
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Pyuthan
Butwal
Bhairawa
Manaslu
Annapurna
Pokhara
Baglung
Gorkha
Gandaki
Hitaura
Bharatpur
Amlekhganj
Janakpur
Dharan
Biratnagar
Thodo
Okhaldunga
Makalu
Kanchenjunga
Tapiejung
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The Survey

Extensive research has been done in the districts of Rasuwa, Nuwakot, East of Kathmandu, and in Dolakha-Charikot, Kabre and Sindhu Palchok, West of Kathmandu. (See map).

The monuments are mostly related to the Buddhist religion. It was not our intention to undertake the study of the building structures. Nevertheless the data collected can help if a technical analysis is necessary.

The team comprised two photographers Mr. Tej Ratna Tamrakar and Mr. Chiniya Tamrakar.

Contacts were established with the head and members of the Panchayats, the village elders and the responsible members of the Clergy.

Seperate reports were made on each field mission and the data and photographic documentation were deposited with the Archaeological Departments of Nepal in a special filing system.

Arrangement of Report

It has obviously been difficult to reduce the large quantity of material (especially photographic) available into a report.

We present successively :

- The populations of the Central part of Nepal.
- Their religious beliefs.
- The monuments and their typology.
- The legislation.

For the districts of Central Nepal presented here each building has been examined in detail following a standard pattern, giving a simple analysis of the construction and condition.

Restoration work has already started in the Northern region and we add a note on the present activities and projects for 1982.

A list of monuments to be designated as *national monuments* is given.

The second part of the report is devoted to a detailed description of the buildings, which are presented as follows :

- Location and environment
- A description of the building or complex of buildings.
- The present condition.
- Architectural and historicai elements.
- The important religious ceremonies.

[In Annexes we present the tables of the temples of the districts surveyed.]

At the end of the report, general observations are made and conclusions are drawn as to the possible future of the cultural heritage of the Northern regions of Nepal. The approach has been rather dispassionate as it was felt necessary to consider the entire cultural problem rather than isolating the buildings or taking them out of context.

Acknowledgements

We should like to express our thanks to all the responsible authorities who assisted us in our task and more especially.

Mr. R. J. Thapa, Ad. Secretary, Ministry of Education and Culture, H. M. G., Nepal.

Mr. J. L. Sharma,acting Director General, Department of Archaeology,

Mr. S. Amatya, Officer, Department of Archaeology,

Kusho Tsechu,religious leader,Kathmandu.

Populations of the Northern Regions of Central Nepal

The population of the Northern districts in Central Nepal is essentially Tamang and Sherpa.

The Tamangs form one of the major Tibeto–Burman speaking communities in Nepal. They are more than 700,000. The main area inhabited by the Tamang lies in the hilly region between the River Likhu Khola in Eastern Nepal and Buri Gandaki in Central West Nepal. The majority is found in the Bagmati Zone around the Valley of Kathmandu.[1]

Tamangs themselves distinguish between Eastern and Western Tamangs, but in spite of noticeable differences in language and culture they come from a common ethnic stock.

Their culture was partly influenced by Tibet, especially by Buddhism. The tradition of a southward migration is alive. Political history and the adaptation to lower altitude conditions shaped the Tamang culture into its present form.

The economy is based on rice and wheat cultivation and on cattle breeding.

The community is divided in exogamous clans (*rui*) and the village is a geographical and ritual entity.

The religious beliefs of the Tamang are of a very complex nature and one counts not less than five major ritual specialists : the *lama*, Buddhist Priest whose main responsibility is to perform the rites connected with death; the shaman, *bonpo*, an ecstatic specialist and healer; the *lambu*,an exorcist; the *mukhiya* or 'headman' who is in-charge of the cult of local deities and the *pujari*, an expert in rituals addressed to certain Hindu divinities.

In the present report we will be only concerned with the buddhist aspects and the material expression of these beliefs in buildings, images and worship.

The Sherpa, a Tibetan speaking population have a clear sense of distinct identity, that sets them apart from the other high altitude dwellers of Tibetan stock along the Main Himalayan Range.[2]

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1. C. Von Furer Haimendorf.– "Ethnographic notes on the Tamangs of Nepal", in *Eastern Anthropologist*, Vol. IX, 3-4, 1955-56,pp.166-177. A Hofer.– *Tamang Ritual Texts. Preliminary studies in the folk religion of an ethnic minority in Nepal*, Wiesbaden, 1981.

2. B. H. Aziz.– View from the Monastery Kitchen, *Kailash*, Vol. IV, 1976, No. 2, pp. 155–168.

   F. Funke.– Religioses Leben der Sherpa, *Khumbu Himal*, Vol.9, Innsbruck–Munchen, 1969.

   C. Von Furer Haimendorf.– *The Sherpas of Nepal, Buddhist Highlanders*, London, 1964 (fieldwork in 1953 and 1957).

   T. Hagen, G. O. Dyrenfurth, C. Von Furer Haimendorf, E. Scheider.- *Mount Everest. Formation, Population and Exploration of the Everest Region*, London, 1963.

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   R. A. Paul.– *Sherpas and their religion*, Ph. D., University of Chicago, 1970.

   Sangye Tenzing Sherpa Lama, A. W. Mac-Donald (compiled by).– Documents for the study of the religion and social organisation of the Sherpas,3 Tibetan manuscripts (in Tibetan), Junbesi, 1971.

   D. Snellgrove.– *Buddhist Himalaya*, Oxford, 1957.

The main concentration of Sherpas is in the Solu-Khumbu region. Migrations have been considerable and there are also Sherpa settlements North East and North of the Kathmandu Valley.

The total population is established at 20,000 people.

Sherpa society has evolved along a specific pattern. Its specialization being in economic activities, such as yak-breeding and trading with Tibet (up to 1959), and the development of religious activities and institutions in contact with the Buddhist monasteries of Tibet proper.

The settlements do not possess resources enabling their inhabitants to maintain themselves throughout the year. The cattle breeders are semi-nomadic, continually moving their herds from one pasture to another, which explains the reason for several dwellings belonging to each family at different altitudes. In the main villages there are the principal houses, shrines and temples and in the subsidiary settlements, located at higher altitude, there are houses of a smaller size.

The Sherpa settlements and houses are of great uniformity. The dwellings are built on a rectangular plan with stone walls, usually double storeyed. The roofs are covered with shingles held down with boulders. In some houses there is a place of worship consisting of an altar with moulded figures and panelled walls decorated with frescoes. Temples and religious buildings as well as shrines and prayer-whells are found in all the main villages.

Sherpa tradition says that the Sherpas immigrated from Tibet between 400 and 500 years ago.

A Village constitutes a community of integrated families,linked by kinship and friendship. This community is able therefore to take concerted action for the general organisation of the agro-pastoral and religious activities. The Panchayat System has replaced now the former system of village administration based on the principle that all authority is delegated to officials elected for a limited period of time. These panchayat members can however still call public meetings to discuss the more important problems.

Religious Beliefs in Central Nepal

It is necessary to comprehend the importance of Buddhism in the Central part of Nepal where it is intrically interroven with Hinduism and Animism.

The monuments, religious ceremonies and festivals are only the visible portion of a complex web of beliefs and Buddhism in its Mahayana form is part of the most visible and demonstrative aspect.

In fact there is an integration of different and sometimes seemingly antagonist cults, the worship of local deities residing in lakes, on mountain ridges, in forests, harmful if not properly controlled; the respect one has to pay to the ancestors (gods), the *kul*, the protection one has to organise to avert evil spirits of all kinds, the faith one has to direct towards the Buddhist gods.

In Nepal, Hinduism and Buddhism dovetail, the Nepali speaking people, whose racial and linguistic affinities lie with Northern India represent Hinduism, the Tibeto-Burman and Tibetan speaking populations of the Northern valleys adhere to Buddhism.

The Tamang Lamas are performing a certain number of ceremonies, mainly the after-

death ceremony *Gyewa*, leaving to the medium *Jhakri*. The exorcisms and protection of the household and settlements. In the Tamang tradition each village has a Lama, called *Tika Lama*. He must stay in the village, has to perform the after-death ritual, give a name to children, organize the worship of the ancestor gods *Puitamba* (or *Dugunya*), organize the festival of *Dewali* (once every 3 or 4 years) related to the cult of ancestors.

He also paints religious paintings and murals. If a village has no Lama, the community asks a Lama to settle, gives him land to build a temple and some arable land to cultivate.

The function of *Tika Lama* is hereditary and cannot be refused by a member of the family. It is always a member of the same clan who has to be a priest. His functions can be compared to the *Purohit* in Hindu society.

For the Tamang, religion is a social affair and the practices led by 'Lamas', who have a poor religious education, are imprinted with beliefs which have little to do with 'orthodox' Buddhism.

The most important ceremony is not the one performed in the temple, but the one called *Gyalwo* : dealing with the clan divinity or god associated or interpreted as the ancestor god and protector.

If the ceremony is done according to the Nying-ma-pa ritual, the effigy substitute represents a female demon. After a night of chanting this effigy is expelled by a group of laymen at the border of the village with whistle and shouting. The evil has been 'cast away', men, house and property are protected for the year to come.

But the Lama is not the only one to worship and protect, a shaman (*Jhakri,Bonpo*), or an intercessor (*Dhami*) complement the rituals.

Once one reaches the high valleys, which form an integral part of the Tibetan cultural area, Buddhism takes over with its strong religious rules and frame of action. The religious inspiration derived from the great centers of Buddhist learning in Tibet is now replaced by Kathmandu.

The major acts of life are an expression of religion. The head of the community, if not a priest/lama, has to take advice from a Lama.

In Sherpa country the establishment of monasteries in Solu as well as in Khumbu is a recent phenomenon and they are today a focal point in the Sherpas' religion life. The performance of seasonal and domestic rituals is a function performed in the village temples.

The *Lamas* are members of the village community, are married and head also a secular life.

As the village communities are of small size, the weight of religion is primordial.

The Buddhist church is a solid structure which has been expending for more than twelve centuries along the Himalayan range. This missionary spirit, which can be compared to the Western Christian practices, has been during the centuries, and is now-a-days, one of the components of the conservation or restoration of monuments and religious landmarks.

The fluctuations in the practice of religion in the different areas is exemplified in the maintenance of the buildings. In some places the derelict state of gompas is indication of the decline of religion.

A renewal can come from the presence of a Lama who revitalizes Buddhism and brings together the members of the community to pool their resources to restore a temple or a shrine.

Such activities, well known through history, can set in motion a religious renewal.

The Tamang and Sherpa ethnic groups though none of them can claim a historical connexion with them, consider Padmasambhava and Milarepa as their main patrons.

Padmasambhava, the saint who developed Buddhism in Tibet during the VIIIth century, travelled extensively in the Himalaya. He came from India and visited the following places: *Chumig Changchub Durdzi* (South of Kathmandu), *Yangla Shel* (in the Southern part of the Valley of Kathmandu), then went to the East, stayed in the cave of *Halashe*, came back to *Sailung* where he spent sometime in *Nange* (above Kalbari-Tamjet), he left a print of his feet in a cave. He stayed also in *Dorjegang* in the mountain of Timal, West of the Sun Kosi, went to *Pematsal*, to Yolmo and entered Tibet via Kyirong and reached *Pamopangdang* and finally Samye.

Milarepa, a saint who lived in the XIth century A. D. has spent sometime in Yolmo and in the upper Tamba Kosi valley. He also stayed in Kosa and Lapchi to the East of the Bhote Koshi.

The influence of the Drugpa-Kagyupa sect in Nepal is to be related with historical events dating back to Narabhupal Saha, father of king Prithvi Narayan (beg. of XVIIIth century A. D.).

A follower of Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal, Lama Sherab Gyaltsen was of his way to Mount Kailas in western Tibet when he met the king of Gorkha. A few years later the same Lama was given the property of the shrine of Swayambhu in the valley of Kathmandu and two summer residences (*Yarsa*), one in Nagtali on the way to Kyirong, at present in Rasuwa District, and another in Kangyul–Yolmo (in Sindhu Palchok District).

The influence of the Drugpa-Kagyupa sect extended during the XVIIIth and XIXth century in Central Nepal.

A recent times, Sherab Dorje, a Drugpa Kagyupa Lama travelled extensively in the central part of the Himalaya, building and repairing temples and shrines.

The Religious Education

Upto 1950 the Tamang and Sherpa lamas were educated in Tibet, in Kyirong Drakar or Lende (a monastery close to Kyirong) sometimes in Gyantse or in Khasa (on the Bhote Kosi). The young students used to spend two to three years with a teacher, learn the texts and rituals, the basics of painting. Back in their village they built an hermitage to spend each year sometime in meditation.

Today the religious instruction is given in Tsum, or in Bigu or in Daragaon by Kusho Pema, a monk of the Kagyupa sect. An other education centered is located in the district of Solu Khumbu.

A serious of major religious ceremonies occur during the year cycle and constitute the frame of the community's social meetings.

Presented here the calendar of the religious festivals as they are performed in the villages of the district of Rasuwa.

	Tibetan Calendar	SALME	BALCHE	KAULE	HAKU	GRE	GOLJUNG	GATLANG	CHILIME	BREMDANG	NAGTALI	THONMON	PADZONG DZONGDI G.
BAISAKH (April–May)	3			P			P	P	P		P		
JETH (May–June)	4						P	4th day					
ASAR (June–July)	5												
SAUN (July–Aug.)	6												
BHADAU (Aug.–Sept.)	7		P Tse-chu		P				P				
ASOJ (Sept.–Oct.)	8										P Tse-chu		
KARTIK (Oct.–Nov.)	9												
MUNSIR (Nov.–Dec.)	10				P								
PUS (Dec.–Jan.)	11									D			
MAGH (Jan.–Feb.)	12												
PHAGUN (Feb.–March)	1	P Mane					P		P				
CAIT (March–April)	2												
Manishawa					x	x	x	x	x			x	x

In Bhadau *Purni* the Bonpo of Gatlang, Chilime, Goljung and Haku go to the lake of Jesor in the Ganesh Himal Range to worship Mahadev.

P=Purni : full moon

D=Drumcho

Religious Buildings

The religious buildings fall into the following categories :

1.– The monastery, *gompa*, a group of buildings, consisting of a large temple, surrounded by dwellings for the inmates and their families.

2.– The village temple, *yul-gi-lhakhang* (in Tamang : *gombo* or *gyang*), usually a free standing temple with or without courtyard. The *lhakhang* is located usually fairly close to the center of the village and belongs to the community or to a clan or lineage.

The temple faces on a paved forecourt, surrounded by prayer walls, *chorten* and flag poles.

3.– The family chapel, *lhakhang*.

The chapel is an element of a private dwelling, the house of a lama or a wealthy member of the community.

4.– The hermitage, *tsamkhang*.

As its name implies, the hermitage is located far from the settlements, built against a rock or on a mountain slope.

General description of a temple

The religious buildings all follow a fairly standard pattern in their plan.

The type of architecture of the temple is often an extension of the Tamang or Sherpa house of the area, and follows the domestic scale and design.

If possible the building faces East for religious reasons. The plan is rectangular. A porch gives access to the assembly hall.

The type of material follows the regional pattern : random rubble stone bedded in mud mortar. The exterior is sometimes plastered over with mud and whitewashed.

The porch : the opening is formed by a lintel supported by posts and brackets.

The entrance open porch is in most cases an addition built with less costly material. The social reason for it is that with the growth of population more devotees need shelter during the festivals.

The building has no windows, very seldom there is a lantern opening in the center of the chapel.

The structure stands on a platform protected by the projecting roof.

The roof is of very low pitch with plain gable and covered with wooden shingles or flat stones.

Interior of the building

The temple consists of the porch or lobby which has a boarded floor and decorated walls (the Wheel of the Law, the Four Guardian Gods).

The entrance door to the chapel is centrally placed in the wall.

The assembly hall or chapel directly opposite the entrance is the altar which is usually a wooden construction or a socle in masonry on which are placed the images of the main divinities.

Minor Buildings

– Prayer Wheels. Located in the main building, and connected with the entrance porch, or in a separate building but adjacent to the temple, is usually found a big prayer-wheel, *mani dungyur*, (average size h. : 2,50 m/ diam.

1,50m to 1,70m). Often several such units can be added to a temple group and the donor gains merit by the act of its construction. Once built the merit is accomplished and the need for its maintenance is considered unnecessary, hence their general state of dilapidation.

– *Kakani.* At the entrance to a religious complex or even a village settlement there is often a small free standing gateway construction *kakani* consisting of a rectangular roofed unit open along the axis. The ceiling and walls are decorated with paintings. These entrance-gates have both a demarcation value as well as a religious value.

– *Chorten* (*mane* in Tamang). A shrine in the strictest sense of the word, built usually of stone following an almost standard pattern enclosing the relics of an important Lama. These are generally often to be found within the religious complex but can be encountered along the trail and at the entrances to village settlements.

– *Mane-Walls.* These are stones engraved with the sacred invocation "Om Mani Padme Hum", which are either built into walls or piled as engraved stones around *chorten.*

The management and maintenance of religious buildings

The ownership of religious buildings

A temple can be common (a village) or private (an individual or family) property. However merit can be gained by adding to common property or even the replacing of a defective roof over a chapel can be classified as a meritorious action. Usually it is difficult to establish these donors as records are seldom kept. With the change of mentality and attitude towards religion, the inhabitants of the Northern regions are investing less money in religious buildings and ceremonies. A fact backed up by a number of religious followers and Lamas.

Personnel of the temple

Lama : a term reserved for senior members of a religious group but now used to generalise men who belong to a religious Buddhist order.

Gelong : A monk or fully ordained member of a monastic community.

Konyer : A keeper who is in charge of the temple, whose duty is to replace the holy water in front of the images each day and to offer butter lamps.

Maintenance of religious buildings

Financial input into these buildings is very spasmodic. As mentioned previously, Actions and Merit are made by local people. Generally the monks are sponsored by their own families as each man must provide for his lodgings and maintenance. Unfortunately families find it difficult to finance such an undertaking and the numbers in each community are dwindling.

Present Legislation Concerning the Ownership of Temples

The oldest and most important shrines have been donated and belong to a structure called *Guthi.*

The *Raj guthi* (or *Sarkar guthi*) is a royal donation and the *Niji guthi* (or *Duniya guthi*) a private donation.

The *Raj guthi* is considered as inalienable property granted by the State and tax free.

The *Niji guthi* can be sold and have to pay taxes.

The income of the land provides for the maintenance of the building and the welfare of the caretaker.

After the Land Reform Act certain religious leaders took advantage of the law to put on their name the property of the temple become the legitimate owners of the land, therefore the income does not go anymore to the buildings.

Smaller temples and shrines are owned by a family or lineage.

Restoration work in progress or Planned in the Northern Regions of Nepal

The Department of Archaeology has started a programme of restoration in the District of Sindhu-Palchok, and financially supported the building of a new temple in Ganyul and repairs in Lakhang Gyang and Chure Gyang.

In November 1981 a team of three members of the Department has made a survey of the temples of Muktinath, in Mustang District. In 1982 an amount of 200,000 Rupees will be spent for the restoration of temples in the Sindhu-Palchok and Rasuwa Districts.

Under the World Heritage Site Project Sagarmatha, a restoration programme is planned in Khumbu (see B.COBURN, Cultural Preservation World Heritage Site Project. Sagarmatha National Park; *Progress Report* 26 June – 1 October 1981).

The Thame, Tengboche, Namche Bazar and Khumjung Gompas were visited, measured, and discussions were held with the curators. Specific plans, lists of material; itemized budgets and work schedules for restoration work prepared (the work includes tin roofing, stone paving and reconstruction of walls).

"Cultural Survival", an American organization that supports projects to help indigenous peoples to survive, is helping in the creation of a "Sherpa Culture Centre" at Tengboche Monastery in the foothills of Mount Everest.

This Center will train young monks, conserve precious books and art, help to maintain Sherpa's pride in their tradition, provide library facilities.

(To be continued)

NEPAL

(Continued)

Two Months in Nepal

January–March 1898

Note book to sojourn

– **Sylvain Levi**

Tuesday 25th January – Another lucky day. Manigal var, Mangal-ka-din I took care to draw my escort's attention to it; Tuesday (mangal var); it is a day of good luck (mangal) and it is certain that if I jested in saying it they took it very seriously. Their superstition goes together with their native simplicity. Now that I have done my Nepalese suit, I have my 'letters patent' of Hindu conversion. I cannot struggle against a feeling of affection to see them all. Pundit, mukhya, sepoy and even my humble coolie, explore the walls shake the stones interrogate the inhabitants, stir them up for the hunt extol to them my Brahmanic science (Oh, the brahmavarcas, I know now what it means) and their faces joyously brightening when the fatidicalvry escapes my lips: "this is antiquity", and then questions are asked on the date on the antiquity on the byegone king on the value of the letters, and the good king Vikramaditya serves as a starting point to this chronology.

Yesterday another exploration through Patan of which I had only seen the splendours or at least the picturesque charms. What a reverse to the medal. The sack of the town by the Gurkhas which is a century old now seems to have been an event of yesterday; broken down houses temples in ruins roads where the pavements disappear under heap of filth, stupedied and anxious faces everywhere with the stink of putrefaction in the air. My first visit goes to the Zimpi Tandu, one of the four great stupas erected on the corners of the town and attributed to Acoka. Tradition cannot be far from wrong. On a basement of circular bricks of about a metre in height there rises a cupola of bricks covered over with earth and turf, without any adornments. On the summit there rises a king of scaffolding made of wood which supports the symbolic parasol on feast days. Nothing more. The diametre is about 12 metres. All round here like everywhere one sees small stone or stucco caityas surmounted as usual with the bell turret of pointed roof and decorated with four Bodhisattvas. There is no vihara erected around this stupa; the vihara of Zimpi Tandu is built on the other side of the road; the stupa thus commands a beautiful view of the banks of the Bagmati and of the mountains.Picturesque Patan is standing against

the southern border of the valley and the long white mass of the Himalaya closes the horizon to the North whilst Kathmandu in the middle of the valley catches a glimpse of the glaciers through the passes of the first mountains. In spite of the name of Acoka in spite of the evidence of his ancient constructions, the stupa has no antique inscription. The most ancient stone dates from the reign of Civa Simha 734 (1614) and nothing can be derived from these ignorant beings, forlon degenerates of a dying religion. The Pundit of the place is brought to me. He literally knows nothing has read nothing and I predict to him;-it is his vyakarana-that he will fall in hell. Have they in their fully allowed their antiquities to get lost ? Do they conceal them by a sentiment of blind (unreasonable) jealousy ? The problem requires solving. The inscription of Civa Simha, in Nevar gives the name of Sthula-Caitya to the caitya and the Pundit tell me that it stands for the Sanscrit name of Zimpi Tandu. And in his courtyard where the soil covers and conceals undoubtedly epigraphical treasures, inhabitants of the neighbouring vihara, in rags, spread to dry in the sun a rank grass the smell of which would make one swoon and that serves for their food.Who is it who has said: Tell me what you eat and I shall tell you what you are.

Quite close to the North is a temple of Ganeca where stelas give the dates of 772, 789, 829, 930, but without any royal name. We move along to the neighbouring vihara the Aloku-Vihara; there we find one of those washing places that abound at Kathmandu and Patan; a fairly deep ditch where water pipes of brick-work divert the waters of neighbouring souces into it. Justice must be given to the Nevars. I have seen some of them who wash themselves at least once in their lives. Men, women and children all clothed in very small wraps spaish rub and twist their hair and my presence scarcely perturbs them. I met my first snake here. In front of me a prettly little reptile of about a metre and a half in length springs out; its forked tongue darts out neatly and it amuses itself in the mossy fountain. A women leans her bare back against the wall on which the snake is climbing, I think it necessary to shout out in my simplicity: "Samp, A snake". No notice paid, I failed in the attempt as far as man can remember these snakes have harmed nobody and the place is seething with them. I was thankful for the advice. A large statue of Cakyamuni in the classical pose the legs crossed, presides over the bathing-place. On a very small stupa I read the date 535 (1415). Through the deserted and unclean streets we overtake another small stupa, of bricks and stucco. 2m 50cm high, attributed to Acoka. Nothing but modern stelas.

On the side, towards the West, there lies another ditch but abandoned, where stagnates a brackish & repulsive pool of water. A stela rises from it and allows one to perceive ancient letters we build a foot-bridge on the mephitic slime and work the brush. The crowd gathers at this unusual sight and the public voice tells me of the arrival of a Pundit; he pandita and the dialogue begins before an attentive and curious audience. Here again a poor specimen of a Pundit: He says he has no practice in Sanscrit, he rather makes use of the "Bhasa". And do you believe Mr. Pundit-ji that Sanscrit is commonly spoken in France. Impossible to convey to him the kind of curiosity that had urged me to come from so far into Nepal to gather bits of manuscripts and inscriptions.He concludes. "Tatha svadece Svagunaprakaco bhavisyati". It is the "ut declamatio fias" translated in Sanscrit. And to think that after all he may be in the right. I will reply to him with Manu : "Jadaval loka acaret" "one must live in the world like a beast". In following the

road to Sangal tol, I see on my way a stone used as a water pipe, but now serving no purpose, bearing traces of ancient inscriptions. And I reach Mahabuddha-Vihara where lives the uncle of my Pundit Bhivanananda. The poor fellow is ailing with rhumatism which prevent him from walking and guiding me. The temple of Mahabudda-Virara shows off among the pagodas and the caityas being of pure Hindu style, crowned with a small vimana profusely sculptured and fairly recalls the temple of Mahabodhi Vihara. It deserves a particular attention, unfortunately it is pressed so closely between the houses of the vihara that it scarcely allows of a passage two metres wide; It is impossible to survey it at a glance. The poor Bhuvavanda shivers with fever, it would be better to return. I end the day visiting the neighbouring vihara : Unko Vihara (Rudra varna-vihara) to the south of the Mahabodhi, a beautiful vihara two courtyards in depth clean, well kept looked after, with pillars, caityas and ordinary chapels, but nothing but recent stelas.

This morning I return to Harigaon. In spite of the truly impressive complaisance of my assistants, vihars and temples disclose nothing and I begin to lose hope when on reaching the rustic staircase which leads to the pillar in the tank,I discover a stela buried, but just peeping above a platform that carries a ruined and abandoned temple. I distinguish the traces of ancient letters. My Mukhya – and one could speak ill of the Nepalese Government-proves the soil with his large knife, the knife that all Nepalese carry at the waist; the sepoy Cri Ram Singh who looks tenderly after the Mleecha(barbarian), no, the Sahib Pundit as they say, removes the stones, enlarges the hole; the Pundit washes the stone and an inscription of Amcuvarman sees light again in a very good state of preservation: Samvat 32. At the other corner another stone almost buried only shows its head. The coolie digs and digs and it is a new inscription of Amcuvarman, Samvat 30. I wish to take a photograph; the mukhya goes and fetches or rather goes to request in the name of the law, strings, bamboos; we have the heavy stela outside its hole, bring it to the light and the operation completed – India must not lose her rights–with the same ceremonial and pomp we take back the stone to its hole where it will have to await a new resurrection. But God alone knows what kind of pujas they will now receive after the explanations given to the crowd of villagers, explanations expounded and amplified by the mukhya.

After breakfast new audience of Pustakalaya (Library). All those who can speak Sanscrit come to view the strange animal and if this impatience is flattering it is wrong to interrupt the reading of the manuscripts. These honest people confined in their Castra are especially surprised at the variety of our lectures. I have had the pleasure of revealing to them the name and work of Bergaigne and the revelation of these Vedic knowledges filled them with admiration.

Thursday 27 January – Today, Cri Pancami; winter is ended. A salvo of artillery (nothing takes place here without gun powder the changes of ministries as well as those of the seasons follow the same programme). A salvo of artillery at 10 a. m. announced to us the beginning of Spring. Vasanta will be welcomed it has besides managed for a sensational entry, an unexpected event. Yesterday we had precisely the most sullen day I had seen in India the Sun has not appeared for a moment and the thick mass of clouds descended and discended on the valley like a faked ceiling whilst the breeze generously scattered whirl winds of dust. And what a breeze, my hands deeply buried in

my pockets where numbed and I was obliged to give up the idea of photographing, through want of light and stability. The thermometre did not rise above 8.I vaily scoured Patan under this biting breeze, I found nothing that was even worth noting down. And the evening was so cold that I buried myself in bed. My poor bed I have had the curiosity to measure its depth: 7 centimetres by forcing the number; lashes of cloth intersecting on a frame-work of wood, a rezai on top, and to cover myself with, my covering of the journey and another rezai. Fifteen days to-day that I remain here. What a strange pleasure it is this dreadful seclusion and this icy cold when India offers everywhere a comfortable hospitality with her paradisaical temperature. But since I am here, I am glad of having sent here. India is too vast to be viewed at a glance and to closed to open her gates at the first strokes of hammer. The European can only live with Europeans and consequently apart from the natives.A justifiable anxiety of hygiene has everywhere established the dwelling of the sahins far from the indigenous swarmings. To attempt a personal research in a few months, would be to lose one's time. The Anglo-Indian officials are alone able to carry out a useful task, they have official quality, they are feared and their favour is sought after, they have the long practice of the country and of the language. To search for manuscripts behind Fuhrer is to spend one's time on a lottery ticket. Nepal fortunately contrasts to these disadvantages; the stretch of the country is closely limited too closely even, because beyond the valley the rest of the country is exactly known as the North Pole. Hadgson and Wright have undoubtedly drained the manuscripts; Bhagvanlal and Bendall have gathered the inscriptions; but behind Hodgson and Wright, is is still permitted to search and glean. Of all the Tripitaka, how many texts there still remain to be discovered ? Further as a Frenchman, I feel a bit suspicious; the Gurkhas can at their worst only lend France with very distant schemes on Nepal. Lastly it is the last region still belonging to India where Buddhism still lives and already very near from dying out or rather from blending with Hinduism, as it has done elsewhere. From the point of view of Buddhistic archaeology, the valley is a complete Museum-from the stupas of Acoka to Hindu temples and the Tibetan caityas. In short particularly interested by my researches in relations of India with the Chinese world, I am here at the true cross-way of these two worlds: Nepal is vassal of China and sends her a periodical tribute; a Lama dwells here and a Nepalese resident at Lhasa.The communications between India and China are here a palpable fact, evident and material; the Chinese stampings mingle in the processions to the chromolithographics of Europe.

The goodwill of the authorities however unexpected it may appear maintains and even increases itself. The commander-in-chief Deb Sham Sher, Maharaj provisionally, sent word to me yesterday that he had given the order to serve me the "Pioneer" daily, one of the best newspaper in India, and I received this morning a basket of oranges and citrons. The proverbial parsimony of the Gurkhas makes the present precious. Deb Sham Sher has also expressed the desire to see my stampings and to have my explanations. Archaeological curiosity. It is wrong to know them. He requested me to take a stamping and to explain if possible an inscription on the wall of the Durbar and which has, it appears so far resisted the efforts of learned men. I have asked him for a precise indication but it certainly concerns the polographical inscription that the good pedant Pratapa Malla has traced on the wall of the

Darbar and in which the French word 'Hiver' (winter) goes by the side of Tibetan and Arabic. 'It is so he sent word to me that the people of this place affirm that the inscription denotes a hidden treasure.' Teneo lupum. Thus it is that Khadga Sham Sher the brother has thrown down the great stupa of Kapilvastu in order to hunt out the large sum. And they take leave of me with the hope that all this epigraphical, treasure will end in treasures of resonant money. Impossible to make them understand our curiosity. The two essential factors of our researches; religion and history have no equivalent in Sanscrit. Yesterday morning the Jemader brought me a Yogi from Hardwar, on his journey for a pilgrimage, knowing Sanscrit well, knowing well his Yoga and cursing the false yogis, professionals of mendicity. Again he was one of those who asked me the fundamental question so often heard. To your knowledge which religion is the best. Old task of disparaging the belief of others and exalting one's own. I have him my perpetual reply: Sarvatra Satam acarah saduh dustanam dustah. Everywhere honest people behave well and the wicked, badly. "He has very naturally asked me if there were Yogis in France; he was convinced (he is still undoubtedly) that there are Yogis in Germany.

Double effect of this distant sojourn (but is not nature a game of apparent contradictions): Jingoism (chauvinism) awakens at the same time when there develops a deep feeling of human solidarity. To see the other fractions of humanity at play, one perceives the approprite role that is set a side for the motherland.

Today is a holiday. The town is made internal by the beating of drums, its processions, its music and its chorus that move along from temple to temple. The Cri pancami is the Saravasti-puja, the festival of the nib and ink-stand. This morning under the direction and escort of my very faithful mukhya (Achates was the protype), I make a pilgrimage to Balaji to the north of Kathmandu at the foot of Nagarjun. Crowds gather to worship the statue of Jalacayana. Narayan floats on water, stretched on Cesa who raise its heads. Colossal statue in the middle of a tank of quite modern workmanship the real Jalacayana is at Budha Nilkanth, 5 miles from Kathmandu. No temple is here erected to the god but a small Nepalese temple built in Chinese style is consecrated to Durga. The daily he-goat has just been sacrificed to him and the head has fallen in the basket, whilst the body still quivers in the hands of the sacrificer. The crowd soon presses on all sides, women especially and it is a continuos tinkling of bells; each visitor announces his journey to the goddess. The site is revishing, shades by tall trees. Limpid streams supply water to number of tanks where the piety of the faithful feeds legions of carps and pour out from about twenty gargolyes on the lovers of devout douches. The Tibetans, with their thick woolen boots or leathern boots and their bewildered faces,burst out laughing at this spectacle; they are evidently astonished at the cleaniness of the Nevars. How everything is relative. The scale of altitude marks here the degrees of human filthiness.

In the afternoon in my own way I made a puja to Sarasvati. I have prepared a complete transcription of one of the stelas of Amcuvarman and written a Sanscrit letter to Pundit Kula mana of Patan to urge him on in the search of manuscripts.

Sanday 30th January- Afternoon of rest; Pundit has even done so the whole day. It is the astami (the 8th) a nd further there is an uposadha (fasting) today in honour of

Avalokitecvara. I returned to Patan on Friday to see the respectable Kula mana whom my letter seems to have impressed. Very moved, the good Pundit and then I greeted him Pundit fashion with a real anjali. And he swore to me on his great Buddhas that he would do his utmost. I gave him the list of all the works classified by Nanjio and known by Chinese translations; I ask him at first to find me the Sutra-lamkara of Acvaghosa, which according to the Chinese version interests both literature and history. He has not the text but he knows its title. Then I ask for the Abhidharmakoca of Vasubandhu which I have laboriously restituted in part according to the Chinese version and the Sanscrit commentary of Yocomitra; then the whole literature of Abhidharma : Jananaprasthana; Prajnaptipada etc.... only one of these texts, and I am a happy man or at least a happy traveller. In leaving Kula mana. I proceeded once again to the Mahabodhi Bihar, as I wished to take a photograph of it. The temple was unique in its kind in Nepal, but it is so closely surrounded by its square of houses that I took a risk with my camera on the broken roof of a hut in ruins whence I was able to snap a characterictic feature – the details of one of the four small vimans erected on the roof of the sanctuary at the four corners of the great vimana the structure of which they reproduce. At Mitrananda's house I found a Sabhararangini an antholigy in the style of the Subhasitavali or rather again of the Subhasitaratnaabhandagara because the verses are set in it without the author's name. This is a large collection (67 leaves) composed by Jagnanatha micra, Yugacaranranda vatsare (1654 A. D.). The manuscript is the work of Amrtananda. I had no time to see the whole thing but shall return to it at some other time. I do not expect to find new and important works in the household that provides its Pundits to the Residence (namely quite an ordinary translator told to translate in Hindustani, documents in Nevar that are addressed to the Residence).

(To be continued)

भौमगुप्तपछि अंशुवर्माको द्वैधशासन

— शङ्करमान राजवंशी

लिच्छविकालमा वसन्तदेवका पालादेखि गुप्तले राजकाजमा प्रवेश पाएका थिए । थानकोट आदिनारायण-को लिच्छविसंवत ४२८ को वसन्तदेवको अभिलेखमा दूतक विरोचन गुप्त थिए । पाटन वाहालुखाको लिच्छवि संवत् ४३५ को वसन्तदेवको अभिलेखमा दूतक रविगुप्त भए । यी रविगुप्तले सर्वदण्डनायक महाप्रतिहार भन्ने पदवी पाएका थिए । लिच्छविसंवत् ४७९ मा गणदेवका पालामा उक्त पदवी भौमगुप्तले पाएका थिए ।[1] लिच्छविसंवत् ४८२ मा गएर भौमगुप्तले राजोचित श्रीपद समेत पाए ।[2] पशुपति देउपाटनको लिच्छविसंवत् ४८७ को स्वामिवार्तको अभिलेखमा स्वामिवार्तले राजा गणदेवलाईभन्दा यी भौमगुप्तलाई विशेष मानमर्यादा राखी उल्लेख गरे । यसरी भौमगुप्त विस्तार विस्तार राज्यको सर्वेसर्वा समेत हुन पुगेथे भन्ने कुरा यसबाट थाहा भएको छ ।[3] लिच्छवि-संवत् ४८९ मा राजा गंगादेवको पालामा पनि यिनै भौमगुप्त सर्वदण्डनायक महाप्रतिहार थिए ।[4]

लिच्छविसंवत् ४९४ मा शिवदेव राजाका पाला-मा पनि यिनै भौमगुप्तले सर्वदण्डनायक महाप्रतिहार भएर राज्यको शासन चलाएका थिए । यसरी भौमगुप्तको दबदबा बढ्दै गएर राजा केवल नाममात्रका हुन पुगेका थिए । यो कुरा शिवदेवको मनमा खट्कन थाल्यो । यसरी ३ जना राजाको पालासम्म शक्तिशाली भएका भौमगुप्तलाई पन्छाउन सितिमिति सकिने कुरा थिएन । त्यसका लागि चतुर योग्य व्यक्तिको आवश्यकता थियो ।

अनि शिवदेवले अंशुवर्मालाई राजकाजका लागि चतुर योग्य ठानी तिनलाई हात लिने विचार गरे । यी अंशुवर्मा शिवदेवका भानिज थिए भन्ने कुरा गोपाल वंशावलीमा उल्लेख छ ।[5] भानिज अंशुवर्माको सल्लाह अनुसार शिवदेवले गोप्यरूपमा एक परिषद खडा गरे । त्यस परिषदको अध्यक्ष शिवदेव आफै भएका थिए । त्यसको मुख्य संचालक अंशुवर्मा भए । यसरी २ वर्ष त्यस परिषद-को कार्य सञ्चालन गरेपछि अंशुवर्माको कार्यकुशलतादेखि प्रभावित भई शिवदेवले भरपर्दो भानिज अंशुवर्मालाई नै त्यस परिषदको अध्यक्ष बनाए ।

त्यसपछि अंशुवर्माको कार्यकुशलताले लिच्छवि-संवत् ५१२ को बूढानीलकण्ठको शिवदेवको अभिलेखमा भौमगुप्तले पाइआएको राजोचित सम्मानको श्री पद खोसिएर भौमगुप्तको तेजोबध भएको दर्शाएको छ ।[6] अनि चापागाउँको अभिलेखदेखि भौमगुप्तको उल्लेख पनि हुन छोड्यो । लिच्छविसंवत् ५१५ को ललितपुरको च्यासलटोलको अभिलेखमा पनि भौमगुप्तको उल्लेख भएन । यसबाट भौमगुप्तलाई राजकाजबाट राम्रैसंग पन्छाइएको स्पष्ट थाहा हुन्छ ।

अनि भौमगुप्तको कार्यभार सह्याल्ने भएर अंशुवर्मा प्रशासनमा देखा परे। यसरी अंशुवर्माको कार्यकुशलता देखी शिवदेवले अंशुवर्मालाई श्रीसामन्त भन्ने पदवी दिए। यहाँदेखि शिवदेव र अंशुवर्माको द्वैध शासन शुरू भयो। यो कुरा चांगुको अभिलेखमा 'अनेन साकं समवाप्य' यिनी-संग मिली भनी उल्लेख गरेबाट थाहा हुन्छ।[7]

यसरी ३३ वर्षसम्म लामो अवधितक सर्वदण्डनायक महाप्रतिहार भई शासन चलाउने भौमगुप्तलाई पन्छाउन अंशुवर्माले भौमगुप्तको पक्षपाती शत्रुहरूसंग टक्कर खानु परेको थियो। त्यसैले भक्तपुर गोलमाढीटोलको लिच्छवि-संवत् ५१६ को शिवदेवको अभिलेखमा अंशुवर्मालाई 'स्वपराक्रमोपशमितामित्रपक्षप्रभावेन' आफ्नो पराक्रम-द्वारा शत्रुपक्षको प्रभावलाई दबाएका भनी विशेषण लगाएको छ।[8] यस कामबाट खुशी भएर अंशुवर्मालाई शिवदेवले महासामन्त भन्ने पदवी दिए। अंशुवर्माले राज-काजको प्रशासन चलाएपछि उनले प्रजालाई सुखशान्ति दिने काममा विशेष जोड दिएका थिए। त्यसैले काठमाडौं धर्मस्थलीको लिच्छविसंवत ५१७ को अभिलेखमा अंशुवर्मालाई 'सम्यक्प्रजापालनपरिश्रमोपार्जित' राम्ररी प्रजापालन गर्नामा भएको परिश्रमले उपार्जित भनी विशेषण लगाएको छ।[9]

अंशुवर्माको यसरी बढेको प्रभावदेखि डाह गर्ने शत्रुहरूले अंशुवर्मालाई उखान्न ठूलो योजना गरेथे। तर तिनीहरूको केही शीप चलेन। अंशुवर्माले तिनीहरूलाई जरैदेखि उन्मूलन गरी छोडे। त्यसकालागि अंशुवर्माले तिनीहरूसंग ठूलो मुकाबिला गर्नुपरेको थियो। त्यसैले बूढानीलकण्ठको लिच्छविसंवत् ५१७ को अभिलेखमा अंशुवर्मालाई पृथुसमर सम्पात निर्जयाधिगत' ठूलो लडाइँको मैदानमा बाजी मार्दा भएको भनी विशेषण लगाएको छ।[10]

यसरी शिवदेवले कुशल राजनीतिज्ञ भानिज अंशुवर्मासंग मिली लिच्छविसंवत् ५२६ वैशाखसम्म द्वैध शासन गरे। यो कुरा काठमाडौं धापासीको लिच्छवि संवत् ५२६ वैशाखको शिलालेखले देखाएको छ।[11] यस बेलासम्म शिवदेवले 'मां विज्ञाप्य' मलाई जाहेर गरेर अंशुवर्माद्वारा यो सनद शिलापत्र गरिदिएको हो भनी उल्लेख गराएका छन्। यसरी आफ्नो उद्देश्य पूरा भएपछि भरपर्दो भानिज अंशुवर्मालाई राज्यको कार्यभार सुम्पी आनन्दपूर्वक दरबारमा रहन लागे। अनि अंशुवर्माले यसको लगत्तै ज्येष्ठमा बुङ्मर्तीमा आफ्नो तर्फबाट सनद शिलापत्र राखे। यस बेला भौमगुप्तलाई खारीज गरी लिच्छविको गएको सत्ता फिर्ता लिन खडा गरेको परिषदको स्थापना २९ वर्ष पुगेको थियो। त्यसैले अंशुवर्माले उक्त स्मृतिको लागि बुङ्मर्तीको अभिलेखमा संवत् २९ अङ्कित गरे। हुनत यो संवत् गुप्तको हातमा गएको लिच्छविसत्ता फिर्ता लिन खडा परेको परिषदको स्मृतिरूप हुनाले उत्तर लिच्छविसंवत् हो। तर अंशुवर्माले स्थापना गरेको संवत् हुनाले अंशुवर्मसंवत् भन्ने भएको हो। यसलाई अंशुवर्मकृत उत्तरलिच्छविसंवत् भनेमा दुवै कुरा स्पष्ट हुनेछ।

आफूले अंशुवर्मालाई यसरी राज्यको कार्यभार सुम्पेको कुरा लिच्छविसंवत् ५२६ आश्विनको लेलेको शिवदेवको अभिलेखमा लेलेका प्रधान लगायत गृहस्थीलाई दिएको बोधार्थबाट ज्ञात हुन्छ। त्यस अभिलेखमा शिवदेवले 'अस्मदनुमोदनया' हामीसंग साधेर अर्थात् स्वीकृति लिएर अंशुवर्माले यो सनद शिलापत्र गरिदिएको हो भनी उल्लेख गरेका छन्।[12]

यस विषयमा श्री धनवज्र आफ्नो मन्तव्य यसरी दिनुहुन्छ—

पहिले 'अंशुवर्माले हाम्रा हजूरमा विन्ति चढाएका हुनाले उनको कुरा राख्न र तिनीहरूको दयाले मैले यो सनदपत्र निगाह गरिदिएको छ' भन्ने भाव देखाउने वाक्य राजा तर्फबाट निकालिएको हुन्थ्यो। अर्थात् सनदपत्र राजाको तर्फबाट गरिदिइएको हुन्थ्यो। अब राजासंग साधेर अंशुवर्माको तर्फबाट सनदपत्र गरी दिइन लागियो। यो कुरा खोपासी, धापासी, लेलेको अभिलेखमा परेको व्यहोराबाट स्पष्ट थाहा पाइन्छ। खोपासीको अभिलेखमा 'श्री महासामन्तांशुवर्म्मणा मां विज्ञाप्य मदनुज्ञातेन सता युष्माकं सर्व्वाधिकरणा प्रवेशेन प्रसादः कृतः' भनिएको छ। धापासीको अभिलेखमा पनि यस्तै व्यहोरा परेको छ। लेलेको अभिलेखमा 'श्रीमहासामन्तांशुवर्म्मास्मदनुमोदन

या शिलापट्टशासनमिदन्दत्तवान् भन्ने व्यहोरा परेको छ। यसबाट अब अंशुवर्मा एक्लैले शासन चलाउने भूमिका बसिसकेको हामी स्पष्ट थाहा पाउँछौं। (लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख २८१ पृष्ठ)

यसरी लिच्छविसंवत् ५२६ वैशाखसम्म शिवदेव अंशुवर्माको द्वैध शासन रहेको कुरा स्पष्ट विदित हुन्छ। त्यसपछि शिवदेवले राजकाजबाट अवकाश लिए तापनि भित्री दरबारको अधिकार आफ्नो हातमा लिएका थिए। यिनको राज्यकाल लिच्छविसंवत् ५३५ सम्म रहेको कुरा काठमाडौं ज्यावहालको लिच्छविसंवत् ५३५ को यिनै शिवदेवको अभिलेखबाट ज्ञात हुन्छ।[13] यस अभिलेखमा जग्गाको चार किल्ला खुलाइएको छ। त्यस जग्गामा कुनै सरकारी कर्मचारीले अन्यथा नगर्नू. यो आज्ञा जसले उल्लङ्घन गर्ला त्यसलाई कारवाई हुनेछ भनिएको छ।

उक्त ज्यावहालको संवत् ५३५ को अभिलेखबारे श्री धनवज्र यसरी तर्क गर्नुहुन्छ-- यस अभिलेखको उठानमा देव' दुई अक्षर अहिलेसम्म बचेका छन्। यसबाट यो अभिलेख शिवदेवले गरिदिएका हुन् कि भन्ने देखिएको छ। अंशुवर्मालाई सारा अधिकार सुम्पी राजकाजबाट शिवदेव हटेका थिए तापनि उनी यस बेलासम्म राजदरबारमै थिए भन्ने यताबाट झल्किन्छ। राजकाजबाट हटिसकेका थिए तापनि दानपत्ररूपको यो अभिलेखचाहिं आफ्नै तर्फबाट शिवदेवले राख्न लाएको बुझिन्छ। अर्को कुरा- यस बेलासम्म दूतकका रूपमा युवराज उदयदेवको उल्लेख आएको छैन। यसको लगत्तैपछि मात्र दूतकका रूपमा युवराज उदयदेव देखापर्छन्। यसबाट शिवदेव राजदरबारमै रहुन्जेल अंशुवर्माले आफ्ना उत्तराधिकारीका रूपमा युवराजको घोषणा नगरेको बुझिन्छ। शिवदेवले राजदरबार छोडी भिक्षुचर्या लिएपछि मात्र अंशुवर्माले उदयदेवलाई 'युवराज' घोषित गरेको यस प्रसङ्गबाट देखिएको छ। (लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख, ३४४ पृष्ठ)

गोपाल वंशावलीमा यो शिवदेवको राज्यभोग वर्ष ४१ उल्लेख गरेको छ। यसको राज्यारम्भ लिच्छविसंवत् ४९४ देखि ४१ वर्ष भोगकालको हिसाब गर्दा ४९४+४१= ५३५ हुन्छ। यसबाट पनि शिवदेवको राज्यकाल लिच्छविसंवत् ५३५ सम्म रहेको भन्ने सिद्ध हुन्छ। शिवदेव र अंशुवर्माको द्वैधशासनचाहिं लिच्छविसंवत् ५२६ वैशाखसम्म मात्र रह्यो। किनभने यो ज्यावहालको अभिलेख बाहेक अरू अभिलेख अंशुवर्माको एकलौटी छन्। शिवदेव र अंशुवर्माको द्वैधशासन लिच्छविसंवत् ५१५ देखि ५२६ सम्म ११ वर्ष रहेको कुरा उपर्युक्त घटनाले सिद्ध भएको छ। लिच्छविसंवत्को निष्कर्षानुसार उक्त द्वैध शासनको अन्तिम समय निम्न प्रकार हुन्छ।

लिच्छविसंवत् ५२६=(५२६-२२)=शक ५०४ वैशाख
उत्तरलिच्छविसंवत् २९=(२९+४७५)=शक ५०४ ज्येष्ठ

धापासीको
शिवदेव + अंशुवर्माको
अभिलेख

परिशिष्ट – १

१ (स्व) स्ति मानगृहादखण्डमण्डलेन्दुकिरणावदातयशो-वितानस्थगि (ता)

२ (खि)लदिङ्मण्डलो लिच्छविकुलकेतुर्भट्टारक महाराज श्रीशिवदे (वः कु)

३ (श)ली प्रणालीदिमकग्रामनिवासिनः प्रधान पुरस्सरान्कुटु (म्बिनः)

४ कुशलमाभाष्य समाज्ञापयति विदितं भवतु भवतां यथाने (न)

५ पृथुसमरसम्पातनिर्जया धिगतपराक्रमोपनमितान्य(क्षि)

६ तिपतिशिरोमणिप्रभामासितचरणारविन्दयुगलेनाशेष (सा)

७ मन्तावगाहनि - कृत -न्दच्चक्षुषा श्रीमहासामन्तांशुवर्म्मणा

८ मां विज्ञाप्य मदनु ज्ञातेन सता कुर्थेलिङ्ग्वल् पञ्चापराध मात्रा प्र-

९ वेशेन वः प्रसादः कृतः समुचितकरमात्रसाधनाय तु तद-

१० धिकृतैः प्रवेष्टव्यमेव चिरस्थितये चास्य शिलापट्टक शासन-

११ मिदन्दत्तं तदेवं वेदिभिरस्मत्पादप्रसादोपजीवि भिरन्यै–

१२ र्व्वा न कैश्चिदिदमप्रमाणङ्कार्य यस्त्वेतामाज्ञां विलङ्घ्यान्यथा

१३ कुर्य्यात्कारयेद्वा तमहमन्यायकारिणन्न मर्षयिष्यामि भा (वि–)

१४ भिरपि भूपतिभिर्द्धर्म्म गुरुभिर्गुरुकृतप्रसादानुवर्त्ति भिरि–

१५ यमाज्ञा सम्यक् प्रतिपालनीयेति समाज्ञापना दूतकश्चात्र

१६ लच्छागोमी सवत् ५२६ वैशाख शुक्ल दिवा पञ्चम्याम्

(लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख, २७६–२८० पृष्ठ)

अनुवाद –

कल्याण होस् । मानगृह दरवारबाट पूर्णिमाको जून जस्तो सफा कीर्ति फैलिनाले सम्पूर्ण दिशा ढाकेका लिच्छविकुलका झण्डा भएका गाथमा आराम रहेका भट्टारक महाराज श्री शिवदेवबाट प्रणाली दिमक भन्ने गाउँमा बस्ने प्रधान लगायत गृहस्थीहरूलाई कुशल सोधेर तिमीहरूलाई थाहा होस् भनेर हुकुम हुन्छ ।

ठूलो लडाइंको मोर्चामा भएको विजयको पराक्रमले निहुराइएका अरू राजाहरूका शिरपेजका मणिका किरणले दुवै पाउ सुहाएका जम्मै सामन्तहरूलाई हेरिकन तेजिला आँखा भएका श्री महासामन्त अंशुवर्माले हाम्रा हजूरमा विन्ति चढाएर हाम्रो आज्ञा लिएका छंदा कुथेर लिङ्ग्वल अधिकरणले पञ्चाराध तहकीकात गर्न तिमीहरूकहाँ पस्न नपाउने गरी तिमीहरूलाई यो निगाह गरिएको छ । उचित कर लिनलाई मात्र तत्सम्बन्धी अधिकरण पस्न पाउने छ ।

यस स्थितिवन्देज परन्तुसम्म कायम रहोस् भन्ना निमित्त यो सनद शिलापत्र गरिदिइयो । त्यसकारण यो थाहा पाउने हाम्रो निगाहबाट जीविका चलाउने कर्मचारी-हरूले र अरू कसैले पनि यो वखिलाप नगर्नू । जसमे यो आज्ञा नाघेर अन्यथा गर्ला वा गराउला त्यस अन्यायकारी-लाई हामी सहने छैनौं ।

पछि आउने राजाहरूले धर्मगुरुहरूले नियम कानूनलाई ठूलो संझने अनुयायीहरूले पनि यस आज्ञालाई रामरी पालना गर्नू भन्ने यो आदेश हो । यहाँ मार्फतवाला लच्छागोमी हुन् । लिच्छविसंवत् ५२६ वैशाख शुक्ल पञ्चमी ।

टिप्पणी–

यस अभिलेखमा अंशुवर्माले विन्ति चढाएको हुँदा अर्थात् उनको सल्लाह अनुसार तिमीहरूलाई यो सनद शिलापत्र गरिदिएको हो भनी शिवदेवले धापासीको प्रणाली दिमक गाउँमा बस्ने प्रधान लगायत गृहस्थीहरूलाई सम्बोधन गरेको व्यहोरा स्पष्ट हुनाले यो अभिलेख शिवदेव आफैले राखेको भन्ने बुझिन्छ । यसबेलासम्म शिवदेव र अंशुवर्माको द्वैधशासन रहेको कुरो यस अभिलेखले देखाउँछ ।

लेलेको
शिवदेव + अंशुवर्माको
अभिलेख

परिशिष्ट – २

१ स्वस्ति मानगृहादपरिमितगुणसमुदयोद्भासितयशा वप्पपादानु ध्यातो लिच्छविकुलकेतु

२ र्भट्टारक महाराज श्रीशिवदेवः कुशली लेम्बटीद्रङ्ग निवासिनः प्रधान पुरस्सरान्कुटुम्बिनः कुश

३ लप्रश्नपूर्व्वं समाज्ञापयति विदितम्भवतु भवतां यथै तस्यां युष्मद्ग्राम सीमाभ्यन्तर भू -

४ मौ पूर्व्वराजभिरन्यैश्च साधुभिः श्रेयोभिवृद्धये क्षेत्रा-ण्यतिसृष्टकान्यासंस्तेषामेव कैश्चि–

५ दप्यनाक्षेपाय चिरस्थितिनिमित्तमनुपरतपुण्यसन्ता-नोपचीयमानविशदकीर्तिमालामो–

६ दितदिगन्तरः श्रीमहासामन्तांशुवर्म्मास्मदनुमोदनया शिलापट्टशासनमिदन्दत्तवान् क्षेत्र–

७ परिमाणं सिंहमण्डपे भगवद्वासुदेवब्राह्मणगोष्ठिका नाम्मा २० आरोग्य शालायाः मा २००

८ माद्धचवशालाया.मा ७५ प्रदीपगौष्ठिकानाम्मा ६० पश्चिमशालाया:मा ६० पानीय गौष्ठिकानां

९ मा ४० विश्वेश्वरस्यमा १० ब्राह्मणगौ (ष्ठिकानाम्मा) १० प्रदीपगौष्ठिकानाम्मा १० पौलम्पानीयगौष्ठिका

१० नाम्मा १० मल्लयुद्धगौष्ठिकानाम्मा ६८ धूप-गौष्ठिकानाम्मा २ इन्द्रगौष्ठिकानाम्मा ४ उत्तरशाला-

११ याः मा १२ वादित्रगौष्ठिकानाम्मा १०···रस्य मा ४० प्रदीपगौष्ठिकानाम्मा ८ अर्च्चागौष्ठिकानाम्

१२ मा २ ध्वजगौष्ठिकानाम्मा १७ प्र—गौष्ठिकानाम्मा २० प्रणालीगौष्ठिकानाम्मा ८ ब्राह्मणसा—

१३ नात्थ्य गौष्ठिकानाम्मा १० हिद्धिमशालायाः मा — प्रदीपगौष्ठिकानाम्मा ८ प्रवहणगौ—

१४ ष्ठिकानाम्मा २० उत्तरशालायाः मा २० पूर्व्वशाला याः मा १० ध्वजगौष्ठिकानाम्मा ११ भूयोध्वजगौ—

१५ ष्ठिकानाम्मा १० मल्लयुद्ध गौष्ठिकानाम्मा ३ अर्च्चनीय गौष्ठिकानामा ४ इन्द्रगौष्ठिकानाम्मा ६

१६ पूर्व्वशालायाः मा १० भगवतश्चूडिकेश्वरस्य पाश्चा-लिकै·· मानङ्ग्रामस्य पूर्व्वतः मा ४० पश्चिमतश्च

१७ मा ४० तदेतेषां क्षेत्राणान्न केनचिदाक्षेपः पीडा वा कार्य्यो यस्त्वेतामाज्ञामतिक्रम्यान्यथा प्रवर्त्ति

१८ ष्यते तमहन्न मर्षयितास्मि दूतकश्चात्र प्रतिहार लच्छागोमीसंवत् ५२६ आश्वयुज शुक्ल दिवा

(लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख, २८२–२८३ पृष्ठ)

अनुवाद—

मानगृह दरबारबाट असंख्य गुणको उदयले उज्ज्वल कीर्ति भएका बाबुको पाउको भक्तिभाव गरेका लिच्छविकुलको भण्डा भएका गाथमा आराम रहेका महाराज श्रीशिवदेवबाट लेम्बरीद्रङ्गमा बस्ने प्रधान लगायत गृहस्थीहरूलाई कुशल सोधी तिमीहरूलाई थाहा होस् भन्ना निमित्त हुकुम हुन्छ ।

यो तिमीहरूको गाउँको सीमाभित्रका भूमिमा पहिलेका राजाहरूले र अरू सज्जनहरूले पनि पुण्य बृद्धिको लागि खेत दान दिएका थिए । तीं खेत कसैबाट पनि हिनामिना नभई परन्तुसम्म कायम रहोस् भन्नाको लागि हरवखत पुण्यकार्यको ताँतीले बढ्दै गएको सफा कीर्तिहरूले दिशा ढाकेका श्रीमहासामन्त अंशुवर्माले हामीसंग साबेर अर्थात् स्वीकृति लिएर यो सनद शिलामा राखिदिएका हुन् ।

खेतको परिमाण—

सिंहमण्डपमा भगवान् वासुदेव ब्राह्मणगोष्ठीका गुठियारलाई २० मानिका, आरोग्य शालालाई २०० मानिका, माद्धचवशालालाई ७५ मानिका, प्रदीपगोष्ठीका गुठियारलाई ६० मानिका, पश्चिमशालालाई ६० मानिका, पानीयगोष्ठीका गुठियारलाई ४० मानिका, विश्वेश्वरलाई १० मानिका, ब्राह्मणगोष्ठीका गुठियारलाई १० मानिका, प्रदीपगोष्ठीका गुठियारलाई १० मानिका, पौलम्को पानीय-गोष्ठिका गुठियारलाई १० मानिका, मल्लयुद्धगोष्ठीका गुठियारलाई ६८ मानिका, धूपगोष्ठीका गुठियारलाई २ मानिका, इन्द्रगोष्ठीका गुठियारलाई ४ मानिका, उत्तर-शालालाई १२ मानिका, वादित्रगोष्ठिका गुठियारलाई १० मानिका लाई ४० मानिका, प्रदीपगोष्ठीका गुठियारलाई ८ मानिका, अर्चागोष्ठीका गुठियारलाई २ मानिका, ध्वजगोष्ठीका गुठियारलाई १७ मानिका का गुठियारलाई २० मानिका,प्रणालीगोष्ठीका गुठियारलाई ८ मानिका,ब्राह्मणसानात्थ्यगोष्ठीका गुठीयारलाई १० मानिका, हिद्धिमशालालाई — मानिका, प्रदीपगोष्ठीका गुठियारलाई ८ मानिका, प्रवहणगोष्ठीका गुठियारलाई २० मानिका, उत्तरशालालाई २० मानिका, पूर्वशालालाई १० मानिका, ध्वजगोष्ठीका गुठियारलाई ११ मानिका, फेरि ध्वजगोष्ठी-का गुठियारलाई १० मानिका, मल्लयुद्धगोष्ठीमा गुठियार-लाई ३ मानिका,अर्चनीयगोष्ठीका गुठियारलाई ४ मानिका, इन्द्रगोष्ठीका गुठियारलाई ६ मानिका, पूर्वशालालाई १० मानिका, भगवान् चुडिकेश्वरका पाश्चालीहरूले··· मानङ्-ग्रामको पूर्वतिर ४० मानिका, पश्चिमतिर पनि ४० मानिका ।

त्यसकारण यी खेतमा कसैले पनि हिनामिना वा बाधा नगर्नू । जसले यो आज्ञा नाघी अन्यथा गर्ला त्यसलाई

हामी सहने छैनौं । यहाँ मार्फतवाला प्रतिहार लच्छागोमी हुन् । लिच्छविसंवत् ५२६ आश्विनशुक्ल ।

टिप्पणी—

यस अभिलेखमा अंशुवर्माले हामीसंग सोधेर अर्थात् स्वीकृति लिएर तिमीहरूलाई यो सनद शिलापत्र गरिदिएको हो भनी शिवदेवले लेले निवासी प्रधान लगायत गृहस्थी-हरूलाई सम्बोधन गरी बोधार्थ दिएको व्यहोरा स्पष्ट हुनाले यो अभिलेख अंशुवर्माद्वारा राख्न लगाएको भन्ने बुझिन्छ । यसबाट अंशुवर्मालाई शिवदेवले राज्यको अभिभारा सुम्पी सकेको कुरा खुल्छ । त्यसैले अंशुवर्माले लिच्छविसंवत् ५२६ वैशाखको लगत्तै ज्येष्ठमा पूर्व संवत् फेरी उत्तरलिच्छवि-संवत् २९ अङ्कित गरी वुंगमतीमा सनद शिलापत्र राखे । यो कुरा यस निबन्धका लेखकको लिच्छवि संवत्को निष्कर्ष-ले देखाउँछ ।

ज्यावहालको
शिवदेवको अभिलेख

परिशिष्ट – ३

१. — —देव··· —
२. — ···न पुण्यो – ···
३. — यं वः प्रसादीकृ (तः)
४. ··· ···नुज्ञः फृथुलक्षेत्रम्पूव··· ···
५. ··· ···मङ्गलस्य क्षेत्रम् ततो भरताश्र(म) —
६. ··· · तुल क्षेत्रम्ततस्तेग्वल्प्रा··· —
७. आदित्यगुप्तस्य क्षेत्रम् पूर्वद ··· —
८. ··· ···ट्टाक्षेत्रम् ततस्तेग्वलनारायण – ···
९. ···स्तेग्वल प्रदीपगौष्ठिकानाम् तस्य भूमेर्दक्षिण···
१०. मेर्दक्षिणराजकुलस्य दक्षिणपश्चिमेन ···
११. वीपाश्चालिकानाम् पश्चिमेन पर्वत···
१२. -- पश्चिमोत्तरेण पर्वत भूमिर्दक्षिण ··
१३. ···परिक्षिप्तेयम्भूमिरित्यवगम्म न कैश्चिदस्य–
१४. त्यानोपजीविभिरयम्प्रसादोन्यथा करणीयो त(स्वेता)–
१५. याज्ञामनाहत्यान्यथा कुर्यात्कारयेद्वा तमहमुत्पथ(गा–)
१६. मिनं नियतमनुशासितास्मि भविष्यद्भिरपि भूप (तिर्भुं)
१७. रुक्तप्रसादानु वर्त्तिभिरेव भवितव्यमिति दूत(कश्चा)
१८. त्र राजपुत्र विक्रमसेनः संवत् ५३५ श्रा(व)
१९. (ण)शुक्ल दिवा सप्तम्याम् ।।

अनुवाद –

··· ···देवबाट··· ···तिमीहरूलाई निगाह गरिएको छ । – (यसको सीमा) ·· ···फृथूल खेतदेखि पूर्वतिर ·· मङ्गलको खेत. त्यसदेखि भरताश्रम ·· तुलखेत, त्यसदेखि तेग्वल··· आदित्यगुप्तको खेतदेखि पूर्वदक्षिणतिर ट्टाखेत, त्यसदेखि तेग्वल नारायणस्थान, तेग्वलप्रदीपगौष्ठिकहरूको, त्यसको खेतदेखि दक्षिण ·· दक्षिणराजकुलको दक्षिण पश्चिमतिर··· वीपाश्चालिकहरूको इलाकादेखि पश्चिमपट्टि पहाड ··· पश्चिम र उत्तरतिर पहाडको भूमि, दक्षिण···

यति चार किल्ला छुट्याइएको यो भूमिबारे थाहा पाई हाम्रोतर्फबाट जीविका गर्ने (सरकारी कर्मचारी) हरू कसैले यो निगाह अन्यथा नगर्नू ।

जसले यो आज्ञालाई नटेरेर अन्यथा गर्ला वा गरा-उला, बेफाइदा गर्ने त्यस उपर अवश्य पनि हामी अनुशासनको कारवाई गर्नेछौं । पछि हुने राजाहरूले पनि अघिका राजाले गरेको निगाहको ख्याल राख्नुपर्छ ।

यस बातका दूतवः (मार्फत) राजपुत्र विक्रमसेन छन् । संवत् ५३५ श्रावण शुक्ल सप्तमी ।

(लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख, ३४२–३४३ पृष्ठ)

टिप्पणी –

यस अभिलेखमा लिच्छविसंवत् ५३५ अङ्कित छ । यस अभिलेखको मार्फतवाला विक्रमसेन छन् । लिच्छवि-संवत् ५२६ मा शिवदेव र अंशुवर्मा भइराखेको लेलेको अभिलेख छ । त्योभन्दा ९ वर्षपछिको यो ज्यावहालको अभिलेख हो । अंशुवर्मकृत उत्तरलिच्छविसंवत् २९ को वुङमतीको अंशुवर्माको अभिलेखमा मार्फतवाला यिनै विक्रमसेन महासर्वदण्डनायक भएर रहेका छन् । यसबाट

उक्त ज्यावहालको अभिलेख शिवदेवको हो भन्ने निश्चित हुन्छ। अर्को कुरो यी शिवदेवको भोग वर्ष ४१ भनी गोपाल वंशावलीमा उल्लेख छ। यसले पनि उक्त अभिलेख शिवदेव सिवाय अरूको हुन सक्दैन भन्ने सिद्ध हुन्छ। ज्यावहालको यो अभिलेखबाट शिवदेवले अंशुवर्मालाई राजकाजको कार्यभार सुम्पे तापनि राजगद्दी त्यागेको थिएन भन्ने स्पष्ट हुन्छ। किनभने यस अभिलेखमा 'जसले यो आज्ञालाई नटेरेर अन्यथा गर्ला वा गराउला बेफाइदा गर्ने त्यस उपर अवश्य पनि हामी अनुशासनको कारवाही गर्नेछौं' भनी शिवदेवको हुकुम जाहेर भएबाट थाहा हुन्छ।

टिप्पणीहरू

१) महाप्रतिहार सर्व्वदण्डनायक (भौम) गुप्तेन विज्ञापितेन मया (धनवज्रको लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख, १८२-१८३ पृष्ठ)

२) मया सर्व्वदण्डनायक महाप्रतिहार श्री भौमगुप्तानुज्ञापितेन (लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख, १८७ पृष्ठ)

३) भट्टारक महाराज श्री गणदेवे कालमपरिमितं समाज्ञापयति परमदैवत श्रीभौमगुप्तपादनुध्यातो विदितविनयः शश्वत्कुशलकर्म्मण्युपहितपरमानुग्रहः (लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख, १९८ पृष्ठ)

४) सर्व्वदण्डनायक महाप्रतिहार श्रीभौमगुप्तविज्ञापितेन मया (लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख, २०४ पृष्ठ)

५) अथ भुयोपि सूर्यवंशप्रभावात् कृत राजा श्री शिवदेव वर्ष ४१ तस्य भर्त्तीय पुत्र राजा श्रीअंशुवर्मा वर्ष ४३ तेन च राजविहार कृतं। प्यण्डकादि व्यवहार प्रवर्तते व्याकरणादि शास्त्रचर्चता प्रवर्तते

[अनि फेरि पनि सूर्यवंशकोप्रभावबाट श्रीशिवदेव राजा हुनुभयो। वर्ष ४१। उहाँका भानिज राजा श्रीअंशुवर्मा हुनुभयो। वर्ष ४३। उहाँले राजविहार बनाउनुभयो। प्यण्डक=पिण्डक=कुत आदिको व्यवस्था बाँध्नुभयो। व्याकरण आदि शास्त्रको चर्चा हुन थाल्यो](लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख, २३७ पृष्ठ)

६) सर्व्वदण्डनायक महाप्रतिहार भौमगुप्तविज्ञापितेन मया (लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख २१५ पृष्ठ)

७) स्वयशोमरीचिविस्तारव्याप्ताशेषदिङ्मण्डलेन प्रणत सामन्तशिरोमणिमयूखविक्षुरितचरणारविन्दद्युतिना श्रीसामन्तांशुवर्म्मणा विज्ञापितेन मयैतद् बहुमानाद् युष्मदनुकम्पया चानेनैव साकं समवाय्य··· शिलापट्टकशासनमिदं वो दत्तम्।

[दिशाको छेउछाउसम्म आफनो कीर्ति फैलिएका, ढोग्न आएका सामन्त राजाका शिरपेचका मणिको चहकले पाउ झलमल्ल सुहाएका श्रीसामन्त अंशुवर्माले हाम्रा हजूरमा विन्ति चढाएका हुँदा हामीबाट यिनको कुरा राख्न र तिमीहरू उपरको दयाले पनि उनैसंग मिली·····यो सनद शिलापत्र गरी तिमीहरूलाई दिइएको छ] (लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख, २३३-२३५ पृष्ठ)

८) प्रख्यातामलविपुलयशसा स्वपराक्रमोपशमितामित्रपक्षप्रभावेन श्रीमहासामन्तांशुवर्म्मणा विज्ञापितेन मयैतद्गौरवाद् युष्मदनुकम्पया च प्रसादो वः कृतः। [सफा र ठूलो कीर्ति फैलिएका आफनै पराक्रमले शत्रुको दबदबालाई खतम पारेका यी महासामन्त अंशुवर्माले हाम्रा हजूरमा विन्ति चढाउँदा हामीबाट यिनको कुरा राख्न र तिमीहरू उपरको दयाले पनि ·····तिमीहरूलाई निगाह गरिएको छ।]

(लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख, २४९-२५० पृष्ठ)

९) ··· ··· पनमितानेकक्षितिपतिशिरोविभूषणमणिरुचा (वभासित) चरणयुगलेन सम्यक् प्रजापालन परिश्रमोपार्जितदिगन्तव्याप्त प(रा)क्रम श्री महासामन्तांशुवर्म्मणा युष्मदनुग्रहाय ···प्रसादो वः कृतः।

[ढोग्न नुहेका अनेक (सामन्त) राजाका शिरपेचका मणिका चहकले दुवै पाउ झलमल्ल सुहाएका, परिश्रमपूर्वक राम्ररी प्रजाको पालन गर्नाले दिशाको छेउछाउसम्म प्रभाव फैलिएका श्रीमहासामन्त

अंशुवर्माले तिमीहरू उपरको अनुग्रहका लागि ..... तिमीहरूलाई निगाह गरिएको छ ।]

(लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख, २५८–२५९ पृष्ठ)

१०) पृथुसमरसम्पातनिर्जयाधिगतशौर्य्यप्रतापोपहत सकलशत्रुपक्षप्रभावेन सम्यक् प्रजापालनपरिश्रमोपार्जितशुभ्रयशोभिव्याप्तदिङ्मण्डलेन श्रीमहासामन्तांशुवर्म्मणा युष्मद्धितविधानाय विज्ञापितेन मयैतद् गौरवा (द्युष्मदनुकम्प) या च.....प्रसादो वः कृतः

[ठूलो लडाइंको मैदानमा बाजी मार्दा भएको शुन्याइंको प्रभावले सारा शत्रुहरूको दबदबालाई सखाप पारेका परिश्रम पूर्वक राम्ररी प्रजाको हेरचाह गर्नाले आर्जेको सफा कीर्तिले दिशाको छेउछाउ ढाकेका श्रीमहासामन्त अंशुवर्माले तिमीहरूको भलो गर्न हाम्रा हजूरमा बिन्ति चढाउँदा हामीबाट उनको कुरा राख्न र तिमीहरू उपरको दयाले पनि..... तिमीहरूलाई निगाह गरिदिएको छ ।] (लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख, २६०–२६१ पृ.)

११) परिशिष्ट १ हेर्नुहोस् ।

१२) परिशिष्ट २ हेर्नुहोस् ।

१३) परिशिष्ट ३ हेर्नुहोस् ।

तिब्बत र नेपालमा बौद्धधर्मको उत्पत्ति र विकास

— रमेशराज कुँवर

तिब्बतमा बौद्धधर्मले प्रवेश गर्नुभन्दा पहिले तिब्बतीहरू बोनधर्ममा विश्वास गर्दथे। प्रकृतिका पुजारी तिब्बतीहरू बोनधर्म अन्तर्गत संसारलाई पृथ्वी, आकाश र स्वर्ग गरी तीन भागमा विभाजन भएको सम्झी कुनै पनि एक भागमा भूत, प्रेत, पिशाच बस्न सक्छ र मानिसलाई दुःख दिन्छ भन्ने सोची खराब आत्मालाई खुशी पार्नको लागि पशु बलि र नर बलि समेत दिने गर्दथे।[1] जब तिब्बतमा बौद्धधर्मले प्रवेश गऱ्यो तब विस्तारै प्राचीन धर्म लोप हुँदै गयो। तर त्यसको तुष भने कहिल्यै हटेन।

पाँचौं शताब्दी ई. तिर टो-टो-री नामक राजाको पालामा तिब्बतमा पहिलो पटक बौद्धधर्मको प्रचार भयो र केही नयाँ पुस्तकहरू पनि ल्याइयो।[2] तिब्बतीहरू त्यसताका लेखपढ गर्न नजान्ने हुनाले नौलो परिपाटीसंग परिचित हुन सकेनन्।[3]

यस सम्बन्धमा शरत्चन्द्र दासले लेखेनु भए अनुसार, तिब्बती प्रथम राजा डंहा-थी-चन्पोदेखि छब्बीसौं राजा नामरी-स्रोङ-चनको पालासम्म तिब्बतमा बौद्धधर्मको प्रचार भैसकेको थिएन।[4] टो-टो-रीको शासनकालभन्दा दुईसय वर्ष पछि अर्थात् सातौं शताब्दी ई. तिर यारलुङ वंशी राजा नामरी-स्रोङ-चङले सम्पूर्ण तिब्बती भूभागलाई एकीकरण गरेपछि[5] तिब्बतमा लेखपढ शुरू हुनुका साथै बौद्धधर्मले पनि राजकीय संरक्षकत्व प्राप्त गरे। भनिन्छ, राजा स्रोङ-चङ-गम्पोले नेपालकी राजकुमारी र चीनकी राजकुमारसंग विवाह गरेपछि नेपालबाट अक्षोभ्य, मैत्रेय र ताराको मूर्ति पनि राजकुमारीकै साथमा पठाइएको थियो। त्यसै गरी चीनको राजकुमारीको साथमा पनि बुद्धको मूर्ति पठाइएको थियो। दुवै राजकुमारीको सरसल्लाहबाट राजाले आफ्नो देशमा बौद्धधर्मलाई राष्ट्रिय धर्मको रूपमा परिणत गरे।[6] आफ्ना देशका बासिन्दाहरू अशिक्षित

1. Mario Fantin, *Manirimdu* (New Delhi : The English Book Store, 1976), P. 106; G. A. Combi, *A Tibetan on Tibet*, (Kathmandu : Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1975), P. 16.
2. Bina Roy Burman, *Religion and Politics of Tibet*, (New Delhi : Vikash Publishing House, 1979), P. 33.
3. Sir Charles Bell, *The Religion of Tibet*, (Oxford : OUP, 1968), P. 33
4. Sarat Chandra Das, *Contributions on the Religion and History of Tibet*, (New Delhi : Manjusri Publishing House, 1970), P. 69.
5. Eva K. Dargyay, *Tibetan Village Communities*, (New Delhi : Vikash Publishing House, 1982), P. 1.

भएको महसूस गरी राजाले थोन्मिसम्भोटको नेतृत्वमा १६ जनालाई काश्मिरमा अध्ययन गर्न पठाए।[7] अन्त्यमा ६५० ई. तिर ती समूह तिब्बत फर्की नयाँ अक्षर तथा लिपिको परिचय दिई लेखपढ गर्न समेत शुरू गराए। परिणाम-स्वरूप थोन्मीसम्भोटलाई तिब्बती शिक्षाको पिता भनी पुकारिन थाले।

राजनैतिक दृष्टिकोणबाट छिन्नभिन्न भई बसेका तिब्बतीहरूलाई राजा स्रोङ-चङ-गम्पोले एकीकरण गरेर नयाँ धर्मको परिचय दिई शिक्षाको समेत प्रचार गराउन सफल भएको हुँदा उनको नाम तिब्बती इतिहासमा अमीट छापको रूपमा रहनु स्वाभाविकै हो।तिब्बतीहरूले नेपाली समाजमा र चिनिया समाजमा चिनिने मौका पाउनमा पनि राजा र थोन्मिसम्भोटकै देन मात्र सकिन्छ। त्यति मात्र नभई बौद्धधर्मको प्रचारको कारणले गर्दा नै विस्तार-विस्तारै तिब्बतीहरूमा राष्ट्रियता र राष्ट्रिय सांस्कृतिक एकताको सूत्रमा बाँधिने मौका पाउँदै गए। तर राजनैतिक स्थिरता भने नवौं शताब्दी ई. सम्म मात्र कायम रह्यो। तत्पश्चात् पुनः एक पटक तिब्बतको राजनैतिक इतिहास छिन्न-भिन्न भयो।

राजा स्रोङ चङ गम्पोको मृत्युपछि उनका उत्तराधिकारीहरूले बौद्ध भिक्षुहरूलाई तिब्बतमा बोलाउने र केही मन्दिरहरू निर्माण गर्ने कार्य जारी नै राखे। तर स्थानीय बासिन्दाहरू नयाँ धर्मसंग त्यति परिचित भइ-सकेका थिएनन्। तिनताका तिब्बतका राजा मे-अक-छोम थिए र उनको समयमा देशमा चर्मरोग फैलिई ठूलो होहल्ला मच्चिई रानीको समेत मृत्यु भयो। यसरी देशमा रोग फैलनाको मुख्य कारण बौद्धधर्म प्रचार गर्नाले हो भन्ने धारणा बोन धर्मावलम्बीहरूमा पर्न गएकोले रोग निवारणको लागि भिक्षुहरूलाई देश बाहिर निकाला गर्नु पर्छ भन्ने माग उनीहरूको थियो।[8] वास्तवमा राजा स्रोङ-चङ-गम्पोको मृत्युपछि करीब १०० वर्षसम्म बौद्धधर्मको विकास हुन सकेन।[9] यसको मुख्य कारण तत्कालीन शासकहरू कमजोर हुनु र शक्तिशाली मन्त्रीहरू प्रायः बोनधर्ममा आस्था राख्ने हुनाले हो।

राजा मे-अक-छोम पछि तिब्बतमा टि-सोङ-दे-चेन राजा भए। तेह्र वर्षको उमेरमा राजा भएदेखि नै यिनले बौद्धधर्ममा आस्था राख्दै आएका थिए। आफू बौद्ध धर्मावलम्बी भए तापनि बौद्धधर्मका विरोधी अर्थात् बोन-धर्मका अनुयायी शक्तिशाली मन्त्रीहरूसंगै काम गर्नु परेकोले बौद्धधर्म प्रचार गर्न ज्यादै गाह्रो परेको महसूस भएको थियो। तिनताका बोन धर्मावलम्बी तथा बौद्धधर्मका विरोधी मा-साङ्ग मुख्य मन्त्री थिए।[10] अन्तमा मा-साङ्गको केही लागेन र राजाले सालङाङ नामक व्यक्तिलाई नेपाल, बोधगया र नालन्दामा तीर्थयात्रा गर्न पठाए। यसै अवस्था-मा मा-साङ्गलाई मारिनु र सालङाङले शान्तरक्षितलाई नेपालमा भेट्नु-यो तिब्बतकोलागि सुनौला अवसर हुन गयो। हुन त मा-साङ्गको मृत्यु शान्तरक्षितको तिब्बत यात्रा पूर्व भएको हो या पछि-यसबारे किटान गर्न नसकिए तापनि शान्तरक्षित तिब्बत जानु अगाडै मा-साङ्गलाई जिउँदै गाडी मारियो भनी सर चार्ल्स बेलले लेख्नुभएको छ[11] भने डेभिड स्नेलग्रोभले मा-साङ्गको क्रियाकलापबाट शान्तरक्षितलाई तिब्बतमा बौद्धधर्म प्रचार गर्न कठिन भएको हुँदा उसलाई जिउँदै गाडिएको हो भनी लेख्नुभएको छ।[12]

भारतबाट शान्तरक्षित, पद्मसंभव र कमलशिल जस्ता महान् बौद्ध विद्वान्हरू राजा टि-सोङ-दे-चेनको

6. Sir Charles Bell, *Tibet : Past & Present*, (Oxford : OUP, 1927), P. 27.
7. L. A. Waddell, *Buddhism and Lamaism* (New Delhi : Heritage Publishers, 1975), P. 19, V. V.Gokhale, "Tibet (Central) and Laddhak", In P.V. Bapat (Ed.), *2500 years of Buddhism*, (Ministry of Information and Broadcasting of India), P. 66.
8. D. L. Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya*, (Oxford : Brono Cassirer, 1957), P. 145.
9. Bell, *The Religion of Tibet*, op. cit., P. 35.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., P. 36.
12. Snellegrove, op. cit., P. 148.

पालामा तिब्बत आई सक्दो रूपमा बौद्धधर्मको प्रचार गरे। तिब्बतको इतिहासमा यसलाई आठौं शताब्दी ई. को घटना मान्न सकिन्छ।

बौद्धधर्मको विस्तृत प्रचार

तिब्बतमा गई बौद्धधर्म प्रचार गर्ने भारतीय ख्याति बौद्ध विद्वान्हरूमा शान्तरक्षित नै पहिलो व्यक्ति थिए। तिब्बती बौद्धधर्मको इतिहासमा शान्तरक्षित एक महत्वपूर्ण व्यक्तिको रूपमा लिइने हुनाले उनको प्रारम्भिक जीवन के कस्तो थियो र कुन कुन स्थितिमा उनले के कस्तो भूमिका खेले भन्ने कुरा जान्नुपर्ने आवश्यकता देखिन्छ।

उनको जन्म ७०५ ई. मा भारतको विहार प्रान्त अन्तर्गत भागलपुर जिल्लाको राजपरिवारको कोखबाट भएको थियो।[13] पछि उनी नालन्दा विश्वविद्यालयको प्रख्यात भिक्षु भए।[14] उनको यो ख्यातिले गर्दा नै तिब्बतमा भ्रमण गर्न निमन्त्रणा समेत पाए। सन् ७४३ मा उनी पहिलो पटक नेपाल हुँदै तिब्बतमा पुगेपछि त्यहाँ दशशील, अष्टादश दातव्य र प्रतित्यसमुत्पादसम्बन्धी शिक्षा दिने काम गरे। करीब तीन महीनाको बसाइमा उनले शिक्षा मात्र नदिई धार्मिक ग्रन्थहरूको पनि अनुवाद गरे। उनले प्रचार गरेको शिक्षा तिब्बती हावापानी सुहाउँदो भएन। तिनताकासम्म तिब्बतीहरू बौद्ध दर्शन बुझ्न सक्ने भइसकेका थिएनन्। त्यसै अवस्थामा अकस्मात् तिब्बतमा मेघ गर्जिनुका साथै आँधीवेरी आई वालीनालीमा सुख्खा लाग्यो र मानिसहरूलाई पनि विभिन्न रोगले ग्रस्त पारे। सो घटनाको कारण शान्तरक्षितले स्थानीय देवी देवताहरूलाई वेवास्ता गरी बौद्धधर्मको प्रचार गर्नाले हो भनी बोन धर्मावलम्बीहरूले सम्पूर्ण दोष शान्तरक्षितमाथि थुपारे। फलस्वरूप शान्तरक्षितलाई तिब्बतमा ज्यान जोगाउन समेत कठीन भएको हुँदा तुरुन्तै उनी नेपाल फर्के।[15]

सन् ७४३ देखि ७४९ सम्म शान्तरक्षित विज्ञानवादकै सिद्धान्त प्रचार गरी नेपालमा नै बसे।[16] उनी नेपालमा बसे तापनि समय समयमा तिब्बतबाट मानिसहरू आई ज्ञान लिई जाने गरेको हुँदा तिब्बतमा शान्तरक्षितको नाम लोप हुनुको सट्टा झन् उनको महत्त्व बढ्दै गएको थियो। एक पटक फेरि शान्तरक्षितलाई तिब्बतमा आउन निमन्त्रणा गरियो। उनलाई तिब्बतको बारेमा सबै थाहा भइसकेको हुनाले आफू नगई पद्म संभवको नाम सिफारिश गरी पठाइ दिए। पद्मसंभव गएको खण्डमा भूत, प्रेत, पिशाच आदि नष्ट हुन सक्छ भन्ने धारणाबाट शान्तरक्षितले उनको नाम सिफारिश गरी दिएको बुझिन्छ। फलस्वरूप तिब्बतीहरूले पद्मसभवलाई निमन्त्रणा गरे र उनी पनि ७४७ ई. मा नेपाल हुँदै तिब्बत पुगे।

पद्मसंभव तिब्बत पुग्ने वित्तिकै उनको आफ्नो तन्त्र विद्याले खराब आत्मालाई नष्ट गरी बौद्धधर्मको प्रचार शुरू गरे। तिनताका शान्तरक्षितलाई पनि तिब्बतमा बोलाइएको हुँदा पद्मसंभवलाई ठूलो हौसला भयो। करीब ६ वर्ष नेपाल बसी ७४९ ई. मा शान्तरक्षित पनि तिब्बत जाने निर्णय गरी तिब्बतको लागि सर्वस्तिवादिन मत नै फलिफाप हुनेछ भन्ने सोचेर सोही मत अन्तर्गतका १२ जवान भिक्षुहरूलाई साथमा लिई उनी दोस्रो पटक तिब्बत पुगे। त्यसबेलादेखि राजा टि-सोङ-दे-चेनको संरक्षकत्वमा दुई जना भारतीय महापण्डितहरूको संयुक्त तत्वावधानमा बौद्धधर्मको प्रचार अनौठो रूपबाट हुन थाल्यो। यसै क्रममा बौद्धधर्मको जग बलियो पार्ने उद्देश्य लिई सर्वप्रथम विहार निर्माण गर्ने र तत्पश्चात् भिक्षु सङ्घ खोल्ने योजना बनाई सात जना तिब्बतीहरूलाई भिक्षु बनाएर सङ्घमा प्रवेश गराए। भिक्षु सङ्घले स्थायित्व प्राप्त गर्न सक्छ कि सक्दैन भनी यसलाई केवल परीक्षणकालमा राखियो। तिब्बतमा बौद्धधर्मको प्रचार पश्चात् व्यवस्थित रूपबाट खोलिएको पहिलो भिक्षु सङ्घ नै यही थियो। तर

13. Rajendra Ram, *A History of Buddhism in Nepal A. D. 704–1396 A. D.*, (Patna : Jana Bharati Prakashan, 1977), PP. 32-33.
14. A. S. Altaker, *Education in Ancient India*, (Varanasi : Manohar Prakashan, 1975), P. 124.
15. Bell, op. cit., P. 36.
16. Ram, op. cit., PP. 35–38.

उक्त सङ्घको व्यवस्था साम्य गुम्बाको निर्माणपछि मात्र भएको हुनुपर्छ भनी आर. ए. स्टेनले लेख्नुभएको छ ।[17]

ह्लासादेखि करीब ५० माइल दक्षिणपूर्व साम्य नामक स्थानमा भारतको ओदन्तपुरी विहारको नमूनामा एउटा विहार निर्माण भयो । तिब्बती भाषामा विहारलाई गुम्बा भनिन्छ । सो गुम्बाको शिलान्यास पण्डित द्वय शान्तरक्षित र पद्मसंभवको उपस्थितिमा भयो । तर सो गुम्बाको पूरा निर्माण भने दुवैको जीवनकालमा नभई करीब ७८७ ई. तिर मात्र पूरा भयो भनी एल. पेटेले लेख्नुभएको कुरालाई राजेन्द्ररामले उद्धृत गर्नुभएको छ ।[18] चिनियाहरू सो गुम्बालाई सन–याङ भन्दछन् । सन–याङ-बाट नै साम्य हुन गएको हो र चिनिया भाषामा सन याङ भन्नाले तीन भाग बुझिन्छ । गुम्बाको सबैभन्दा माथिल्लो भाग चिनिया शैलीमा, बीचको भाग भारतीय शैलीमा र सबैभन्दा तल्लो भाग तिब्बती शैलीमा बनेको हुनाले सो गुम्बालाई सन–याङ भनिएको हो ।[19] जुन शैलीमा सो गुम्बा निर्माण भएपनि तिब्बती बौद्धधर्म अन्तर्गत डिङ–मा–पा (पुराना अथवा नसुधारिएको) मतको पूर्व केन्द्र विन्दूको रूपमा साम्य गुम्बालाई लिइन्छ । गौतम बुद्ध लगायत अन्य बुद्धहरू तथा ठूला-ठूला लामाहरूको मूर्ति राखी पूजा-आजा गर्ने हुँदा र धार्मिक ज्ञान दिइने हुँदा साम्य गुम्बालाई तिब्बतीहरूको एउटा महत्वपूर्ण पवित्र तथा धार्मिक केन्द्रको रूपमा लिन सकिन्छ ।[20] तिब्बती बौद्ध धर्मावलम्बीहरूको सबैभन्दा पुरानो पवित्र स्थल नै साम्य गुम्बा हुन गयो । यसै क्रममा शान्तरक्षित र पद्म-संभव दुवैको सहयोग र समझदारीबाट सो गुम्बा निर्माण भएपनि अन्तमा यसको निर्माता पदमभसंवलाई नै मानियो ।

चर्कदो रूपमा बौद्धधर्मको प्रचार हुँदै गए तापनि कुनाकाप्चामा बोन मतावलम्बीहरू कायमै थिए । बोन मतावलम्बीहरू बौद्धधर्मको विरोधी थिए भने चिनिया बौद्ध धर्मावलम्बीहरू समेत तिब्बतमा भारतीय बौद्धधर्मले जरो गाडेको हेर्न चाहँदैनथे । यसै परिस्थितिमा शान्त-रक्षितलाई ७६२ ई. मा घोडाले कुल्चाएर मारिदिए ।[21] उनको हत्या गराउनमा चिनियाहरूको पनि ठूलो हात हुन सक्छ भनी सर चार्ल्स बेलले उल्लेख गर्नुभएको छ ।[22] करीब १३ वर्ष ३ महीना तिब्बतमा बसी शान्तरक्षितले आफ्नो अन्तिम देहलाई सोही ठाउँमा विसर्जन गरे ।

पद्मसंभव, शान्तरक्षितपछिका अर्को महान् पण्डित थिए जसलाई तिब्बती बौद्धधर्मको गे-लुक–पा मतावलम्बीहरू बाहेक अरू सबै मतावलम्बीहरूले गुरुका रूपमा अर्थात् तिब्बती बौद्धधर्म अन्तर्गत पाइने विभिन्न देवताहरूमध्ये एउटा महत्वपूर्ण देवताको रूपमा पूजी डिङ–मा–पा मतको संस्थापकको रूपमा मानिएको पाइन्छ । उनलाई प्रायः गुरु रिम्बोचे, उर्गेन रिम्बोचे र पेमा ज्युङ्ने भनी पुजिएको पनि नपाइने होइन । भित्ते चित्र र थांका चित्रमा प्रायः पद्मसंभवको आठ भिन्दा-भिन्दै रूप देखाइएको पाइन्छ । उक्त आठ रूपहरूमा दुई रूप क्रोधी र बाँकी ६ रूपहरू शान्त खालको पाइन्छ ।

डिङ–मा–पा मतका संस्थापक मानिएका पद्म-संभवको जन्मबारे प्रशस्त किंवदन्तीहरू पाइन्छन् । उनको जन्म कमलको फूलबाट भएको मानिन्छ । वास्तवमा उनका बारेमा जान्नको लागि भरपर्दो ऐतिहासिक सामग्रीहरू उपलब्ध नभएको हुनाले पनि प्रशस्त किंवदन्तीहरू रचिएका होलान् । पछि गएर थाहा पाए अनुसार, उनी कमलको फूलबाट जन्मिएको होइन कि मानिसकै कोखबाट जन्मि-एका थिए भन्ने कुरालाई अधिकांश विद्वान्हरूले स्वीकारी सकेका छन् ।

काश्मीर र अफगानिस्तानको बीचमा पर्ने स्वातः प्रदेशका सम्पूर्ण मानिसहरू महायानी बौद्धधर्म अपनाउँदै

17. R. A. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, (London : Faber and Faber Ltd., 1972), P. 66.
18. Ram, op. cit., Fote note, P. 38.
19. Dass, op. cit., P. 75.
20. Sacred र Profane शब्दको प्रयोग गर्ने पहिलो विद्वान् इमाइल दुर्खाइम थिए । तर यस लेखमा sacred शब्दले दुर्खाइमको परिभाषालाई भन्दा पनि L. P. Vidhyarthi को *Sacred Complex of Hindu Gaya* (1961) मा पाइने Sacred Centre लाई अनुकरण गरिएको छ ।
21. Ram, op. cit., P. 38.
22. Bell, op. cit., P. 40.

विशेषतः महायानीहरू जादू र तन्त्रमन्त्रमा निकै नै प्रभावित थिए ।[23] सोही ठाउँमा पद्मसंभवको पनि जन्म भएको थियो ।[24] कसैले यिनलाई राजा इन्द्रभुतिको छोराको रूपमा स्वीकारेका छन्[25] भने कसैले धर्मपुत्र हुनुपर्छ भनी तर्क गरेको पनि नपाइने होइन ।[26] इ. कृष्णमाचार्यले पद्मसंभवलाई शान्तरक्षितको बहिनी-ज्वाई मान्नुभएको छ ।[27] शान्तरक्षितको बहिनी मान्दरवासंग विवाह भएपछि मात्र उनी तिब्बतको लागि प्रस्थान गरे भनी एल. ए. वाडेलले उल्लेख गरेको पाइन्छ ।[28]

गुरु पद्मसंभवले 'त्रयी योग' (दर्शन, तर्कशास्त्र र गुह्य विज्ञान) को ज्ञान बङ्गालमा लिएका थिए ।[29] तीनै विषयका ज्ञाता तथा नालन्दा विश्वविद्यालयका योगाचार दर्शनसम्बन्धी प्राध्यापकको रूपमा रहेका पद्मसंभवले भारतमा नै आफ्नो ख्याति पाइसकेका थिए । शान्तरक्षित जस्ता महान् पण्डित आफ्नो समकालीन सहयोगी पाएको हुँदा उनलाई तिब्बत जान अप्ठ्यारो परेन । तत्कालीन समयमा तिब्बतको धार्मिक अवस्था ज्यादै नाजुक भएको हुनाले तिब्बत जानु अगावै सो ठाउँको जानकारी नेपालबाट लिन सकिने महसूस गरी पद्मसंभव नेपाल आई शान्तरक्षित र अन्य नेपाली विद्वान्हरूसंग कुराकानी गरी तिब्बत सम्बन्धी पोख्त भएपछि मात्र उनी तिब्बतको लागि प्रस्थान गरेका हुन् ।

शान्तरक्षितले तिब्बतमा धर्मप्रचार गर्नको लागि पद्मसंभवलाई सहयोगी बनाए झैं पद्मसंभवले पनि आफ्ना पत्नीहरूको सहयोगबाट मात्र धर्म प्रचार गर्न लागे । तिब्बती इतिहासमा पद्मसंभवका पत्नीहरू डकिनी-को नामबाट प्रख्यात छन् । पद्मसंभवका पाँच पत्नीहरू थिए जसमध्ये दुइजना नेपालको (कला देवी र शाक्य देवी), दुइजना तिब्बतका (खासी वि-ङ्गेन र यसे–छो-ग्याल) र एकजना भारतको (मान्दरवा) थिए । उल्लिखित पाँच पत्नीहरूमध्ये भारतका मान्दरवा र तिब्बतका यसे–छो–ग्याल निकै नै प्रख्यात मानिन्छन् ।

आफ्ना पाँच डकिनीहरूका मद्दतबाट तन्त्रलाई व्यवहारमा उतारी पद्मसंभवले बोनधर्म अन्तर्गतका भूत, प्रेत, पिशाच आदिलाई नष्ट पारिदिए । त्यतिमात्र नभई तान्त्रिक विद्याको संरक्षणको लागि गुफाभित्र लुकी विभिन्न ग्रन्थहरूको अनुवाद गर्ने कार्य पनि ती डकिनीहरूबाट भएका थिए ।

शान्तरक्षितको मृत्यु ७६२ ई. मा भएपछि पद्मसंभवको पनि नामनिशाना नै रहेन । न उनको पनि तिब्बतमा नै मृत्यु भयो न त शान्तरक्षितलाई मारेको देखेपछि कतै भागेर गए या तिब्बतमा अझै रहे– यस सम्बन्धमा कुनै पनि भरपर्दो स्रोत पाइँदैन । उनको पछिल्लो जीवनलाई लिएर विभिन्न विद्वान्हरूले विभिन्न किसिमका अड्कल गरेका छन् । शान्तरक्षितको मृत्युपछि पद्मसभव १८ महीनामात्र रहे र अनि नागपोत द्वीप जग्गाको कल्पित भन्ने ठाउँमा पुगे भनी कसैले लेखेको पाइन्छ भने कसैले ५० वर्षसम्म उनी तिब्बतमा नै रहे भनी अड्कल गरेको पनि नपाइने होइन । ङ्गिङ मा पा मतावलम्बीहरूले टि-सोङ–दे–चेनका छोरा मु-ने-चेन–पोको पालासम्म पद्मसंभव तिब्बतमा नै रहेका थिए भन्ने विश्वास गर्दछन् । सर चार्ल्स बेलले लेख्नु भए अनुसार, तिब्बतमा राजालाई कानमा विष हाली मार्ने षडयन्त्र भयो र पदमसंभवलाई पनि उनका केही समर्थकहरू र नोकरहरूको साथ लगाई भारत पठाइयो ।[30] तर आज-भोलि उनी तिब्बतको उत्तर–पश्चिम भूभाग अन्तर्गत राक्षसहरूको देशमा शिक्षा दिई बसेका छन् भन्ने विश्वास राख्तछन् ।[31] उनको पछिल्लो जीवन नेपालको उत्तरी भागमा बिताई सन् ७५५ मा मृत्यु भएको हुनसक्छ भनी राजेन्द्ररामले तर्क गर्नुभएको छ ।[32] सोलुखुम्बुका शेर्पाहरूले पद्मसंभवको मृत्यु अमृतसरमा भएको विश्वास गर्दछन् ।

23. Ibid, P. 37.
24. Ram, op. cit., P. 39.
25. Waddell, op. cit., PP. 380–382.
26. Ram, op. cit., Foot note, P. 40.
27. Ibid.
28. Waddell, op. cit., Foot note 5, PP.24, 382.
29. Bell, op. cit., P. 37.
30. Ibid, P. 39.
31. Ibid.
32. Ram, op. cit., P. 47.

आठौं शताब्दीको मध्य तथा अन्ततिर बौद्धधर्मको प्रचारको लागि कमलशील नामक अर्को एक बौद्ध विद्वान् तिब्बत गए। शान्तरक्षित तथा पद्मसंभवको दाँजोमा कमलशीललाई लिन सकिदैन तापनि तिब्बतमा बौद्धधर्मको जग बसाल्नमा उनको पनि ठूलो देन मान्न सकिन्छ। तत्कालीन तिब्बती राजाले भारतीय बौद्ध दर्शनमा विश्वास राखे तापनि तिब्बती जनता चिनिया बौद्धधर्ममा प्रभावित हुँदै गइराखेका थिए। चिनिया बौद्ध धर्मावलम्बीहरूले भारतीय बौद्धधर्मलाई गलत अर्थमा सोचेको हुनाले कुन देशबाट आएको धर्म ठीक छ भनी जान्ने उत्सुक राजामा आउनु स्वाभाविकै थियो। राजाले चिनिया बौद्ध विद्वान् र भारतीय बौद्ध विद्वान्को बीच वादविवाद गर्ने कार्यक्रम राखे। कार्यक्रम अनुसार भारतीय बौद्ध विद्वान्हरूबाट कमलशीललाई प्रतिनिधित्व गर्न लगाइयो भने चिनिया बौद्ध विद्वान्हरूबाट हो-साङलाई गराइयो। त्यसताका बौद्धधर्मको प्रचारमा भारतीय प्रचारलाई 'ढीलो प्रचार' र चिनिया प्रचारलाई 'छिटो प्रचार' भन्ने नारा दिइएको थियो।[33] फलस्वरूप शान्तरक्षितले दिएको सिद्धान्तहरूलाई नस्वीकारी चिनिया महायानीहरूको सिद्धान्तलाई समर्थन गरिन थालियो। उनीहरूले प्रचार गरेका दर्शनहरूमा भक्ति र कर्मलाई जोड दिनुका साथै निर्वाणको बाटो अङ्गाली अनस्तित्वमाथि विश्वास गर्न आग्रह गरिएको थियो। हुन पनि यी सिद्धान्तहरूलाई तिब्बतीहरूले छिटै नै ग्रहण गरे।

अन्तमा केही उपायबाट पनि भारतीय बौद्धधर्म प्रचार हुन नसक्ने अवस्थालाई महसूस गरी राजाको आफै निगरानीमा सन् ७९२-७९४ को बीच साम्य गुम्बामा दुइथरी विद्वान्हरूको बीच वादविवाद कार्यक्रम चलाए।[34] वादविवादको सिलसिलामा कमलशीलले चिनिया प्रतिनिधिहरूलाई हराए। राजाको निर्णय अनुसार अबदेखि तिब्बती समाजमा चिनिया बौद्धधर्मलाई नअङ्गाली भारतीय बौद्धधर्मलाई मान्यता दिई नागार्जुनको माध्यमिक सिद्धान्त अन्तर्गत दश धार्मिक व्यवहार र छयासी सद्गुणहरू (पारमिता) लाई अङ्गालिने निर्णय गरियो। अन्तमा कुनै उपाय पनि नदेखेपछि केही हत्याराहरू जम्मा गरी चिनियाहरूले कमलशीललाई तिब्बतमा नै मार्ने अठोट गरे र पछि हत्या समेत गरियो पनि।

छिमेकी देशहरूसंगको झगडामा व्यस्त हुँदा पनि भारतीय बौद्धधर्मलाई शीरमा राखी बोन धर्मावलम्बीहरूलाई र चिनिया महायानीहरूलाई ख्याल नगरी आफ्नो देशमा सदासर्वदाका निम्ति बौद्धधर्मको जग बसाल्न सफल भएका राजा टि-सोङ-दे-चेनलाई आजसम्म पनि तिब्बती बौद्ध धर्मावलम्बीहरूले मुक्तकण्ठले प्रशंसा गरी मन्जुश्रीको अवतारको रूपमा पूजेको पाइन्छ। उनको अन्तिम समय ७९७ देखि ८०४ ई. सम्म मानिन्छ।

राजा टि-सोङ-दे-चेनको मृत्यु पश्चात् तिब्बतको इतिहासका उनका छोरा मु-ने-चन-पो शासकको रूपमा देखा पर्दछन्। उनको समयमा पुनः बौद्धधर्मप्रतिको आस्था घट्दै गयो। धेरैजसोले सो धर्मलाई घृणाको दृष्टिले हेर्न थाले। अन्तमा राजाको आफ्नै नातेदारबाट विष प्रयोग गरी उनको हत्या गरियो।

मु-ने चन-पो-को हत्या भएपछि उनका भाइ ठि-दे-सोङ-चेन गद्दीमा बसे। उनलाई तिब्बती इतिहासमा सा-ना-लेक पनि भनिन्छ। फेरि पनि एकपटक बौद्धधर्मको प्रचार र प्रसारलाई मान्यता दिइयो र 'संस्कृत-तिब्बती शब्दकोश' (महाव्युत्पत्ति) को तयारी पनि भयो। सो कार्यबाट जनतालाई धार्मिक ज्ञान हासिल गर्न निकै नै सजिलो भयो। धार्मिक दृष्टिकोणबाट सा-ना-लेकले ज्यादै राम्रो स्थान ओगट्न नसके तापनि उनको पालामा बौद्धधर्म लोप हुन पाएन। समय-समयमा ग्रन्थहरू अनुवाद गरिएबाट बौद्धधर्मको प्रतिष्ठा बढ्दै गएकोले दाज्यूको भन्दा उनको स्थान निकै नै माथि लान सकिन्छ।

सा-ना लेकको मृत्यु पश्चात् नवौं शताब्दी ई. तिर उनका छोरा राल-पा-चन १७ वर्षको उमेरमा तिब्बतको राजा भए। यिनले कहिलेदेखि शासन चलाए सो भन्न कठीन पर्दछ तापनि कसैले ८१५ ई. तिरदेखि ८३८ ई. सम्म र कसैले ८७७ देखि ९०१ ई. सम्मको

33. Bell. op., cit., P. 40.

34. Stein, op. cit., P. 68.

समय स्वीकारेका छन् । तिब्बती बौद्धधर्मको इतिहासमा राजा स्रोङ–चङ–गम्पो, टि-सं ङ–दे–चनले जस्तो प्रकार-बाट आफ्नो नाम जीवित बनाउन सफल भए त्यसरी नै राल-पा-चन पनि सफल भएको देखिन्छ । यिनको ज्यादै लामो कपाल भएको हुँदा तिब्बती इतिहासमा यिनी 'लामो कपाल' को नामबाट पनि नचिनिने होइनन् ।

राजा राल–पा–चन महायानी बौद्धधर्ममा मात्र आस्था नराखी हिनयानमा पनि त्यत्तिकै आस्था राख्दथे । आफू देशको शासक भएपछि तुरुन्तै भारत, जाहोर-बाट दुवै मतसंग सम्बन्धित ग्रन्थहरू झिकाई धर्मको प्रचार गर्न लगाए । दुई भिन्दाभिन्दै मत अन्तर्गतका ग्रन्थहरूको सम्मिश्रणबाट निकालिएका सिद्धान्तहरू अध्ययन गर्न ज्यादै अप्ठ्यारो परेको कुरा राजालाई महसूस भएपछि तुरुन्तै अक्षर विन्यासमा संशोधन गर्न लगाए । भिक्षुहरूको हेरविचार गर्न सकेमा मात्र धर्मको विकास हुनसक्छ भन्ने धारणा भएको हुँदा प्रत्येक भिक्षुलाई सात कुषकहरूको घरबाट हेरविचार गर्नुपर्ने बन्दोबस्त गराए । यसरी पहिलो पटक भिक्षु सङ्घको व्यवस्था हुन गयो । राजाको लामो कपाल भएको हुनाले सो कपाल जमीनमा घस्सिदा उक्त कपालमा भिक्षुहरूलाई हिंडाउँदथे पनि भनिन्छ ।

उनको पालामा बौद्ध ग्रन्थहरू अनुवाद गरी तिनीहरूलाई दुई भागमा विभाजन गरियो । पहिलो भाग-लाई कङ्गयुर (१०८ ठेली) र दोस्रो भागलाई तेङ्गयुर भनी संज्ञा दिइयो । गौतम बुद्धका उपदेशहरू जति कङ्गयुरमा छापियो र बुद्धका चेलाहरूको उपदेश जति तेङ्गयुरमा छापियो ।

बोनहरूको चकचकी तथा बौद्धधर्मको नाजुक स्थिति

राजा बौद्धधर्मका परमानुयायी भए तापनि बोन मतावलम्बीहरूको स्थायित्वको कारण कठिनताका साथ नयाँ धर्मको प्रचार भई नै राखेको थियो । उनका धेरैजसो मन्त्रीहरू बोन धर्मानुयायी भएकाले बौद्धधर्मको प्रचारमा अवरोध खडा गर्नुका साथै के गरेर सो धर्मलाई तिब्बती भूभागबाट पन्छाउन सकिन्छ भन्ने तरखरमा लाग्नु सिवाय उनीहरूको दोस्रो काम भएन । तिब्बती इतिहासमा प्रायः ती मन्त्रीहरू 'काला टोपी' अथवा 'काला मन्त्रीहरू' भनी चिनिन्छन् ।

यस्तो अवस्थामा राजाका स्वयं दाज्यू लाङ-दर-मा समेत बौद्धधर्मका बिरोधी तथा काला मन्त्रीहरूको समर्थक हुन गएबाट बौद्धधर्मको स्थिति नाजुक हुने लक्षण देखा पर्न गयो । यसै क्रममा दाज्यू लाङ-दर-माको नेतृत्वमा सम्पूर्ण शक्तिशाली बोन मतावलम्बीहरू एक जुट भई राजाको हत्या गराए । तर उनको हत्या कहिले भयो सो निश्चित समय थाहा पाउन नसकिए पनि धेरैजसोले ८३८ देखि ९१४ ई. का बीचमा भएको हुनसक्छ भनी अड्कल गरेका छन् ।

आफ्नो भाइको हत्या गरेपछि भतिजो (राजाको छोरा) चाङमालाई पनि भूटानतिर लघारे । तत्पश्चात् लाङ-दर-मा तिब्बतको आफू शासक भएपछि भाइको हत्यारा दपस ग्याललाई मन्त्रीमा नियुक्त गरे ।[35]

वास्तवमा त्यतिबेला राजाको हत्या हुनु नै बौद्ध-धर्मको हत्या गर्ने खोजिएको हो भन्न सकिन्छ । जेहोस्, 'लामो कपाल' को हत्या गरेपछि तिब्बतमा ठूलो होहल्ला मच्चिनुका साथै धार्मिक क्षेत्रमा पनि ठूलो परिवर्तन आयो । बौद्धधर्म छिया-छिया भएर गयो ।[36] केही भिक्षुहरू विवाह

35. Satya Mohan Joshi, *Karnali Lok Sanskriti*, (Khanda – 1), in Nepali, (Nepal Rajkiya Pragya Pratisthan, 2028), P. 34.

36. Bell, *Tibet : Past & Present*, op. cit , P. 28; "As soon as the latter succeeded to the throne, he did what he could to destroy Buddhism in Tibet. The religious law broke like a rotten rope. The peace in Tibet became as a lamp without oil. Evil arose like a storm; the good intentions were forgotten as a dream. The monks, finding none to serve them returned to their homes, the evil ministers gained the power. Those appointed as king, Lang-der-ma an incarnate fiend."

गर्न लागे । कुनैलाई जङ्गलमा शिकार गर्न पठाइयो । अहिंसाको नारा दिनेलाई मृत्युदण्ड दिइन थालियो । मन्दिरका ढोकाहरूमा बार बारियो र भिक्षुहरूले मदिरा सेवन गरिराखेका चित्रहरू लेखिन थालियो । धार्मिक ग्रन्थहरू अनुवाद गर्न बन्द गरियो । कतिपय धार्मिक ग्रन्थहरू त चट्टानभित्र लुकाइएको थियो भनी पु-टोनको उल्लेखलाई सर चार्ल्स वेलले उद्धृत गर्नु भएको छ ।[37] तिब्बतमा भिक्षुहरूको बिचल्ली बौद्धधर्मको घृणा तथा विरोध न यो भन्दा पहिले भएको थियो न त पछि नै । यसबाट बुझिन्छ कि वोनहरूले आफ्नो संस्कृतिलाई परिवर्तन गराउन चाहँदैनथे साथै सांस्कृतिक निरन्तरता-माथि पनि त्यत्तिकै जोड दिएका थिए । तर वोनहरूको 'सांस्कृतिक निरन्तरता' को भावनाले सम्पूर्ण जनतालाई एउटै तिब्बती खेमाभित्र राख्नसक्ने क्षमता नभएकोले तिब्बतीकरणको प्रक्रिया तथा उक्त कदम उपर कुनै किसिमको प्रभाव परेन भन्न सकिन्छ । सातौं शताब्दी ई. उत्तरार्द्ध तिब्बतमा बौद्धधर्म तिब्बतीकरणको लागि एउटा महत्वपूर्ण अदृश्यात्मक शक्तिको रूपमा देखापर्दै आएको थियो र सो क्रम अविछिन्न रूपमा चल्दै पनि गयो ।

भाग्यवश कहलिएका पापी राजा धेरै वर्ष टिक्न पाएनन् । राजा भएको करीब १ वर्षदेखि १३ वर्षको बीचमा ल्हालुङ नामक एक भिक्षुद्वारा उनको हत्या गरियो । राजाको हत्या पश्चात सो भिक्षु आम्दो प्रान्तको पहेंलो नदीको दक्षिण भूभाग हुँदै स्हुँवातिर भागेर गए भन्ने उल्लेख पाइन्छ ।[38] साटोलाई आधार मान्दै राजा लाङ-दर-माको हत्या ८४६ ई. मा भएको हुनुपर्छ भनी आर. ए. स्टेनले लेख्नुभएको छ तापनि सर चार्ल्स वेलले ९०० ई. मा भएको अनुमान गर्नुभएको छ ।[39] जेहोस्, उल्लिखित भिक्षुद्वारा राजा लाङ–दर–माको हत्या नाटकीय ढङ्गबाट भएको थियो ।[40] गौतम बुद्धले काटमारलाई पूर्णमात्रामा बहिष्कार गरेको पाइए तापनि रीसको आवेगमा आएका भिक्षुले राजा लाङ–दर–माको हत्या गरेबाट तात्कालीक बौद्ध विद्वान्हरूले उक्त 'हत्या' लाई सैद्धान्तिक दृष्टिकोण-बाट 'पवित्र' तथा 'धार्मिक' अथवा पाप कुन कार्यमा लिए त्यो भन्न कठीन पर्दछ ।

भागेर गएका भिक्षुहरू आम्दोको एउटा महत्वपूर्ण प्रान्तमा लुक्न पुगेका थिए । आम्दो प्रान्त त्यसताका एउटा महत्वपूर्ण बौद्ध केन्द्र बनिसकेको थियो । लाङ-दर–माको चकचकी भइ-राखेको बेलामा पनि तीनजना भिक्षु साथमा धर्मसम्बन्धी विभिन्न ग्रन्थहरू बोकी पल–छेन–छु–मो–रीबाट सोही

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37. Bell, *The Religion of Tibet*, op. cit., P. 47.
38. Stein, op. cit., P. 69; Waddell, op. cit P. 34.
39. Stein, op. cit., P. 69. Bell, op. cit., P. 47.
40. Bell, *The Religion of Tibet*, op. cit., P. 48; Mounted on a white horse blackened with charcoal, and wearing a roomy woolen cloak black on the outside and white in the inside, he went to Lhasa. With him he took an iron bow and an iron arrow. When he came to Lhasa, he saw the Strong One reading the inscription on Long Stone, with his back turned to the Temple and the Cho-ten of Gan-den. He alighted in the Strong One's presence. He bent the bow, resting it on his knee. The king thought he was doing obeisance to him. During the first obeisance he bent the bow; during the second he fitted the arrow-notch to the bow-string; during the third he let fly. The arrow pierced the king's chest.

He stayed to call out, 'I am the demon, Black ya-she. When anybody wishes to kill a sinful king, let him do it as I have killed this one.' So saying he fled. The cry was raised. The Strong One is killed in Lhasa, persue the assasin'. But the monk washed the black off his horse in a pond, and turned his cloak inside out. And, now he called out, I am the god called White Nam-te-u, and continued his flight."

लामा ओम-पा-ख-स्यालकहाँ गई धार्मिक ज्ञान लिन थाले । त्यसपछि सोही ठाउँमा अर्को १० जना तिब्बतीहरू आई प्रवज्या लिए जसमा प्रमुख व्यक्ति लु-मे-छुल-ठीम थियो । लाङ-दर माको मृत्यु भएपछि पुनः ती भिक्षुहरू ह्लासा फर्की साम्य गुम्बाबाट धर्म प्रचार गर्न थाल । भताभुङ्ग भएको धर्मलाई एकत्रित गरी प्रचार गराउनमा ओम पा-ख-स्याल र लु-मे-छुल-ठीमको ठूलो हात थियो ।[41]

राजनैतिक अस्थिरता तथा बौद्धधर्मको पुनरुत्थान

लाङ-दर-माको मृत्यु पश्चात् तिब्बतको इतिहास करीब १५० वर्षसम्म अन्धकार नै रह्यो । मृत राजाको दुई भिन्दाभिन्दै रानीबाट जन्मिएका दुई छोरामा युमतेन र होसुङको बीच गद्दीको लागि मतभेद चल्न थाले । अन्तमा युमतेनले यु प्रान्तमा र होसुङले अर्को छुट्टै प्रान्तमा स्वतन्त्र रूपबाट शासन चलाउन थाले । यसै क्रममा होसुङको छोरा पाल-खोर-चनले पश्चिमी तिब्बतको लदाक, पुराङ्ग र गुगेमा शासन चलाउन थाल्यो । पछि गएर उसको उत्तराधिकारीहरूका पालामा ती राज्यहरू विभाजित भई ङरी-मरयुल, पुराङ्ग, गुगे आदि जम्मै राज्यमा भिन्दाभिन्दै स्वतन्त्र शासकहरू देखापर्न थाले ।[42] यसरी विभिन्न भागमा तिब्बत बाँडिए तापनि बौधधर्मको प्रचार गरिने कार्य भने जारी नै रह्यो । प्रत्येक स्वतन्त्र शासकले आ-आफ्नो राज्यमा के कसो गरी धर्म प्रचार गर्न सकिन्छ भनी विभिन्न उपायहरू रच्न थाले । पछि माझ तिब्बत र उत्तर-पूर्वी तिब्बतमा मात्र धर्मको प्रचार नभई पश्चिम तिब्बतमा समेत यसले जरो गाड्न थाले । पश्चिमी तिब्बतको दाँजोमा युमतेनका सन्तानहरूले आफ्नो ठाउँमा सफलतापूर्वक धर्म प्रचार गर्न सकेनन् ।

तिब्बतको पश्चिमी भूभागमा बौद्धधर्मको महत्त्व बढ्दै गएको कारणले तिब्बतको धार्मिक इतिहासले नयाँ मोड लिन थालेको बुझिन्छ । यसैताका रिन्छेन-जाङ-पो नामक एक महान् बौद्ध विद्वान् तिब्बतको इतिहासमा देखापर्दछन् । उनको समय ९५८ देखि १०५४ ई. सम्म मानिन्छ ।[43] त्यतिबेलासम्ममा मानिसहरूलाई बौद्धधर्म ग्रहण गर्न सके जीवनको बाटो नै भिन्दै हुनसक्छ भन्ने धारणा जागिसकेको थियो । फलस्वरूप ङरी प्रान्तका शासक होनखोरन्दे अथवा य-शे-हो (ज्ञानप्रभा) ले आफ्नै भाइलाई शासन दिई आफूलाई प्रवज्या लिई रिन्छेन-जाङ-पोको नेतृत्वमा २१ जनालाई बौद्धधर्म अध्ययन गर्न भारत पठाए । तर रत्नभद्र (रिन्छेन-जाङ-पो) र सुप्रज्ञा (लोक-पाइ-सेराप) मात्र बाँचा फर्केर आए । बाँकी अरू सबै हावापानी नमिलनाको कारणले भारतमा नै सबैको मृत्यु भयो । रिन्छेन-जाङ-पोले काश्मीरमा अध्ययन गरी भारतको अन्य भूभागमा पनि भ्रमण गरेका थिए । त्यसताका भारतमा बौद्धधर्मसम्बन्धी जो कोही पनि अध्ययन गर्न गएमा उनीहरूलाई क्रमिक दर्शन (अभिधम्म), तान्त्रिक दर्शन (प्रज्ञा पारमिता) तथा तर्क विद्या, गुम्बा अथवा विहारको अनुशासन (विनय), ऐतिहासिक निबन्ध (सूत्र), विशेष योग र विधिविधानहरू आदिसम्बन्धी ज्ञान दिइन्थ्यो । उल्लिखित विषयहरूमा पोख्त भई फर्केका रिन्छेन-जाङ-पोको ख्याति र विद्वता सम्पूर्ण तिब्बती समाजमा फैलियो । तिब्बतमा फर्केपछि प्रज्ञापारमिता, मातृ र पितृ तन्त्रहरूमा प्रकाश पारेको हुनाले नै उनको ख्याति बढ्न गएको हो । त्यसैले उनलाई शर्मातन्त्रको संस्थापक पनि भनिन्छ ।[44]

तिनताका नेपालमा समेत बौद्ध शिक्षण केन्द्रहरू खोलिन थालिसकेको थियो । त्यसैताका भारतमा मुसलमानहरूको आक्रमणले गर्दा अधिकांश बौद्ध भिक्षुहरू त्यहाँबाट भागी तिब्बत र नेपालतिर लागे । त्यसताका बौद्ध विद्वान्हरूमा सबैभन्दा बढी ख्याति प्राप्त गर्ने व्यक्ति अतिश थिए जसलाई दिपाङ्कर ज्ञान भनिन्छ । अतिशले कालचक्र प्राणी अन्तर्गत लिएका शिक्षा तन्त्रवादमा आधारित थियो । सहजयानका तान्त्रिक सिद्धहरूमा अग्रणी कहलिएका नारोपा जस्ता पण्डितबाट उनले दीक्षा लिएका थिए ।[45] अतिशले विक्रमशिलाको पण्डित्याई छोडी

41. Dass, op. cit.. P. 70.
42. Gokhale, op. cit., P. 69.
43. Snellgroue, op. cit., P. 180.
44. Dass, op. cit., P. 72.
45. Surya Vikram Gyanwali, *Nepal Upatyakako Madhyakalin Itihas*, (Royal Nepal Academy, 2019), P. 270.

नेपालमा आएर एक वर्ष बसी ज्ञान लिनेदिने कार्य गरेपछि[46] मात्र मुस्ताङ हुँदै पश्चिमी तिब्बतको गुँगे राज्यमा पुगे ।[47] उनले ज्ञानार्जन गरेका कालचक्र प्रणाली अन्तर्गतको शिक्षा तत्कालीन तिब्बती हावापानी सुहाउँदो हुँदै गएको थियो । उनी त्यहीं नै बौद्धधर्म प्रचार गरी बस्न थाले । त्यहाँ उनले रिन्छेन–जाङ–पोलाई समेत भेट गरी ल्हासासम्म पुगेपछि त्यहाँबाट करीब १६ माइल टाढा ट्रा–यर–पा गुफामा बसी ज्ञान प्रचार गर्न थाले । सो गुफामा बसेर कैयौं तिब्बती भिक्षुहरूको सहयोगबाट प्रशस्त ग्रन्थहरूको अनुवाद गर्ने कार्य पनि गरे ।[48] अतिश-लाई तिब्बतमा लिएर आउने व्यक्ति नाक–हो थिए र उनी पनि अतिशसंगै सोही गुफामा बसेका थिए । वास्तव-मा अतिशको तिब्बती चेलाहरूमध्ये ड्रोम–टोन मुख्य मानिन्छन् ।

बौद्धधर्मको विकास तथा मतको उत्पत्ति

तिब्बतमा अतिशलाई मान्नुको कारण केवल धर्म प्रचार गरेर र विभिन्न ग्रन्थहरू अनुवाद गरेर मात्र होइन । उनले सबैभन्दा पहिले मतको सृजना गर्न लगाएको कारणले हो । उनको समयमा तिब्बतमा जुन मतको सृजना भयो त्यसलाई का-दम-पा भनिन्छ । का-दम पा मतको सृजना भएपछि पुराना नियममा बस्ने तिब्बती बौद्ध भिक्षुहरूको मतलाई ङिङ-मा-पा (पुरानो अथवा अपरिवर्तित या नसुधारिएको) भनिन थालियो ।

हुनत का-दम-पा मतको संस्थापक ड्रोम-टोन थिए तापनि यसको सम्पूर्ण देन अतिशलाई नै गएको छ । किन-भने का-दम-पा मत ड्रोम-टोनबाट लागू गरेपनि यसको सम्पूर्ण नियमहरू अतिशले बनाएका थिए । मैत्रेय र असंगद्वारा प्रतिपादित योगाचार दर्शनमा प्रभावित भएका आचार्य अतिशको मार्गदर्शनमा ड्रोम-टोनले हिनयान र महायान दुवै विचारधारालाई संमिश्रण गरी भिक्षुहरूलाई अविवाहित जीवन व्यतित गराउने, जादू,तन्त्रमन्त्रमा जोड नदिने किसिमको यो मत प्रचार गर्न सफल भए । यसै क्रममा रिन्छेन-जाङ-पोभन्दा पहिले अनुवादित ग्रन्थहरूको नियम र उपनियमलाई साङ-नाग-ङिमा भनिन थालियो र रिन्छेन जाङ-पो पश्चात अनुवादित ग्रन्थहरूलाई साङ-नाग-सर्भा भनिन थालियो । तिब्बती भाषामा साङ-नाग-ङि-मा भन्नाले 'पुरानो' र साङ-नाग-सर्भा भन्नाले 'नयाँ' भन्ने बुझिन्छ । का-दम-पा मत पनि साङ-नाग-सर्भाभित्र पर्दछ । लाङ-दर-माभन्दा पूर्वका सूत्रहरूमा केही पनि सैद्धान्तिक भेद नपाइनु र त्यस पछिका अनुवादकहरूले विस्तारै विस्तारै सिद्धान्तलाई काँटछाँट गरी केही परिपाटीमा फरक ल्याएको हुनाले पुरानो परिपाटीलाई ङिङ-मा-पा भनिएको र नयाँ परीपाटीलाई स-र्मा-त्रा भनिन थालियो । तर प्रस्तुत धर्मको विकासको क्रममा कमलशिलको समयसम्मलाई ङा–दर (प्राचीन तिब्बती बौद्धधर्म) र लाङ–दर–माको समय पश्चातलाई छि-दर (उत्तर तिब्बत बौद्धधर्म) को रूपमा विभाजन गरेको पनि नपाइने होइन ।

का–दम–पा मतका गुरु मानिएका तिब्बती बौद्ध विद्वान ड्रोम टोनले आफ्नो निर्देशनमा ल्हासादेखि ६० माइल टाढा उत्तरपट्टि रे–टिङ नामक स्थानमा एउटा गुम्बा बनाउन लगाई सो गुम्बामा ९ वर्षसम्म बसी नागार्जुनको मध्यममार्गसम्बन्धी ज्ञान दिए । करीब ६० वर्षको उमेरमा उनको मृत्यु भएपछि उनका चेला पो-टो-वाले उक्त कार्यलाई जारी नै राखेर ६६ वर्षको उमेरमा उनको पनि मृत्यु भयो । जेहोस्, बौद्धधर्मको प्रचार पश्चिम तिब्बतमा मात्र सीमित नभई मध्यतिब्बततिर पनि फैलँदै गएको थियो ।

बाह्रौं शताब्दी ई. तिर तिब्बती बौद्धधर्मको इतिहासमा मार्पा नामक अर्को एक व्यक्ति देखा पर्दछन् । मार्पा र उनका एक साथी नेपाल आई यहाँका नेवारहरू-संग ३ वर्ष बसी बौद्धधर्मसम्बन्धी तान्त्रिक ज्ञान सिकेको कुरा सर चार्ल्स बेलले लेख्नुभएको छ ।[49] नेपालमा ज्ञान लिइसकेपछि भारतको नालन्दा विश्वविद्यालयमा पनि ज्ञानार्जन गरे । त्यहाँबाट फर्केर आएपछि आफ्नो तन्त्र

46. Ibid., P. 268.
47. Snellgroue, op. cit., P. 179.
48. Waddell, op. cit., Foot note–2, P. 36.
49. Bell, op. cit , P. 62.

विद्याको माध्यमबाट सम्पूर्ण खराबीलाई हटाई बालबच्चा तथा बृद्धहरूको रोगलाई निको पार्न सफल भएको हुनाले कतिपय व्यक्तिहरू उनको चेला बन्न पुगे । नारोपाको दीक्षाबाट मार्पा ज्यादै नै प्रभावित भएको हुनाले दोस्रो पटक पनि उनी भारत गए । भारतबाट नेपाल हुँदै तिब्बत फर्केपछि उनले अर्को नयाँ मतको परिचय दिए जसलाई तिब्बती बौद्धधर्ममा क-ग्यु-पा मत भनिन्छ । मार्पाको विभिन्न चेलाचेलीहरूमध्ये मिला-रे-पाको नाम उल्लेखनीय छ ।

मार्पाद्वारा प्रतिपादित कग्युको अर्थ साधारणतया 'नियममा बसी सफल हुनु' भन्ने बुझिन्छ । यो मत विशेष गरी भारतीय दर्शनमा आधारित देखिन्छ । यसको वास्तविक रूप महामुद्रा अर्थात् मध्यममार्ग हो । यो मतको मुख्य विशेषता यौगिक कार्य गर्नु हो । प्रायः सो कार्य गुफामा बसी या अन्त कतै एकान्त ठाउँमा बसी ध्यान गर्नु हो र नारोपाको गुरु तिलोपाद्वारा निर्देशित आदिबुद्ध वज्रधरबाट उत्साहित हुनु हो । यसको तन्त्र शुभ-कर-सुहुमू हो । यो मतावलम्बीले सम्मरलाई संरक्षक राक्षसको रूपमा मान्दछन् ।[50] पछि क ग्यु-पा पनि दुई उपमतमा विभाजित भयो जसलाई कर्मा–पा र रुग-पा भनिन्छ ।

धर्म प्रचारमा जतिको देन मार्पाले दिएका थिए त्यत्तिकै देन मार्पाका चेला मिला-रे-पाले पनि दिएको मानिन्छ । मिला-रे-पाको जन्म १०३८ ई. मा तिब्बतको दक्षिणी भूभागमा नेपालको सीमाना नजिक जोडिएको केरुङभन्दा केही कोश पूर्व गुङ-टाङ जिल्लाको क्याङ-सामा भएको थियो ।[51] पछि उनको नाम मिला-रे-पा भए तापनि बाल्यकालको नाम तो-पा-ग (सुन्नमा आनन्द) थियो । सधैं जसो रुवाको लुगा लगाउने भएको हुनाले उनलाई मिला–रे–पा भनिएको थियो । मिला–रे–पा भारत नगए पनि नेपालको भादगाउँमा रहेको लामा पाँगो गुफामा आएर बसी तपस्या गरेको विश्वास गरिन्छ । हालसम्म पनि तिब्बती तीर्थयात्रीहरू सो गुफामा तपस्या गर्न जाने हुनाले शायद सोही गुफामा मिला–रे–पा आई बसेको हुनसक्छ भनी श्री ज्ञवालीले तर्क गर्नुभएको पाइन्छ ।[52]

आमाको करकापमा परेको मिलाले सर्वप्रथम 'कालो कला' सम्बन्धी ज्ञान लिनुपरेको थियो । त्यसबाट आफू संतुष्ट नभएपछि योगीको रूप धारण गरी कविता तथा गीतहरू लेख्न थाले । उनले लेखेका कतिपय कविता-हरू र गीतहरू बौद्धधर्मसंग सम्बन्धित भएको हुनाले जनमानसमा यसले निकै प्रभाव पार्न सक्यो । उनका दशौं हजार गीतहरूको सम्झना गर्दै अझै पनि तिब्बती लामाहरू तथा टावा (भिक्षु) हरू मिला–रे–पालाई मुक्तकण्ठले प्रशंसा गर्दछन् । वास्तवमा मिलालाई यसरी अगाडि बढाउनमा सबैभन्दा ठूलो देन लामा मार्पाको नै थियो ।

बौद्धधर्म – राष्ट्रिय धर्म तथा शाक्य-पा मतको उत्पत्ति

एघारौं शताब्दी ई. सम्ममा त बौद्धधर्मले सम्पूर्ण तिब्बतीहरूको आत्मालाई जित्न सफल भइसकेको थियो भने बाह्रौं शताब्दी इ. को पूर्वार्द्धमा अर्को एउटा नयाँ मतको सिर्जना भयो जुन मतलाई तिब्बतीहरू शाक्य-पा भन्दछन् । का-दम-पा मत अन्तर्गत दुई उपमतहरूमध्ये क-ग्यु–पा पछिको दोस्रो मत शाक्य–पा हो । शाक्य–पा मतपछि पनि अरू दुई मतहरू क्रमशः जो–नाङ-पा र ङि–छे-पा थिए ।

माथि उल्लिखित तथा पछि देखिने विभिन्न मत–उपमतहरूको उत्पत्ति र नामकरण कसरी भयो भन्ने सम्बन्धमा शरतचन्द्र दासले लेख्नुहुन्छ कि बौद्धधर्मको दर्शन-हरूमध्ये वैभाषिक दर्शन अन्तर्गत पाइने विभिन्न अठार उपदर्शनहरूको उत्पत्ति विभिन्न गुरुहरूको नाम र स्थान विशेष नामकरण भए झैं तिब्बती बौद्धधर्म अन्तर्गत सिर्जना भएका कतिपय दर्शनहरू वैभाषिकको स्वरूप नआए पनि विभिन्न लामाहरूको नामबाट, स्थान विशेष र क्रिया तथा विधिको नामबाट नामकरण भएको हो । शाक्य–पा, जो–नाङ–पा, शाङ–पा र दिगुङ–पा मतहरू स्थान विशेषबाट नामकरण भएको मानिन्छ । प्रायः ती मतहरू सोही सोही

50. Waddell, op. cit., PP. 64-65.
51. Bell, op. cit., PP. 80–81.
52. Gyanwali, op. cit., P. 272.

स्थानबाट उत्पत्ति हुनुको साथै सोही ठाउँमा ज्ञान पनि दिइन्थ्यो । कर्मा-पा, वुलुग-पा मतहरू गुरु (लामा) को नामबाट नामकरण भएको थियो । का दम-पा, दोग-छेन-पा, छचाग-छेन-पा र शि-छे-पा विधिहरू तथा बाह्य क्रियाबाट नामकरण भएको मानिन्छ ।[53]

शाक्य-पा मतको उदय भएपछि तिब्बतको धार्मिक इतिहासमा मात्र परिवर्तन नआई राजनैतिक इतिहासमा समेत परिवर्तन आयो । त्यसबेलादेखि बौद्धधर्मलाई राष्ट्रिय धर्मको रूपमा लिइन थालियो र देशको शासन समेत लामाहरूको हातमा पऱ्यो ।

सन् १०७१ मा नेपाल र तिब्बतको सीमानासंग जोडिएको सिवात्सेको दक्षिण-पश्चिम भागको शाक्य भन्ने ठाउँमा एउटा ठूलो गुम्बाको निर्माण भयो । सो गुम्बाको प्रधान पुरोहित तथा मुख्य लामा (खेम्पो) स्व. राजा टि-सोङ-दे-चेनको प्रिय मन्त्रीका वंशज थिए । गुम्बाको नियम अनुसार मुख्य लामाको पद वंशानुगत बाबुपछि छोराले पाउने भयो र लामाहरू अविवाहित हुनुपर्छ भन्ने कुनै अनिवार्यता पनि भएन ।

सन् १२०० ई. तिर जेन्जिङ खाँले तिब्बतलाई आफ्नो अधिनमा लिएपछि करीब १२७० ई. मा उनका सन्तान कुब्लाइ खाँले शाक्यहरूको प्रमुख लामालाई प्रधान पुरोहित या प्रमुख लामाको रूपमा मान्यता दिई शासकको रूपमा नियुक्त गरे भनी जि. ए. कोम्बीले लेख्नुभएको छ ।[54] त्यसबेलादेखि शासनकर्ता नै लामा भएको हुनाले तिब्बतको सम्पूर्ण भू-भागमा धर्मको महत्व बढ्दै जान थाल्यो । त्यतिमात्र नभई भारतबाट ल्याइएका ग्रन्थहरू र तिब्बतमा अनुवादित ग्रन्थहरूलाई होशियारीकासाथ दोहऱ्याउने काम भयो । त्यस काममा लाग्नेहरूमध्ये बु चन-को नाम निकै नै प्रसिद्ध छ । यिनले १२९०-१३६४ ई. सम्मको बीचमा मौलिक बौद्ध ग्रन्थहरूको विश्लेषण, इतिहासको रचना, केङ्ग्युर र तेङ्ग्युर समेतको सङ्कलन गरेका थिए ।

शाक्यहरूको आन्तरिक कलहले गर्दा उनीहरूको शासन सि-तु र पाक-मो लुको हातमा गयो । सर चार्ल्स बेलले १३४५ ई. मा सो घटना घट्न गएको हो भनी मानुभएको छ ।[55] शाक्य वंशको नाशककार तथा सित्या वंशका संस्थापक छाङ-हुव थिए । राजनीतिमा विशाल परिवर्तन आए तापनि धार्मिक क्षेत्रमा भने कुनै किसिमको बाधा अड्चन आउन पाएन । सो वंशले १६३५ ई. सम्म तिब्बतमा शासन चलाएको उल्लेख पाइन्छ ।[56]

गे-लुक-पा मतको उत्पत्ति

तिब्बती बौद्धधर्मको ऐतिहासिक विकासक्रममा गे-लुक-पालाई अन्तिम सुधारिएको मत मानिन्छ । छोङ-खा-पाद्वारा संस्थापित सो मतका मतावलम्बीहरूले अवतारवादलाई विशेष मान्यता दिन थाले । हुनत, तिब्बती लामाहरूले अवतार फेर्ने थालेको सम्भवतः १२८४ ई. को समयलाई अनुमान गरेको पाइन्छ ।[57]

अवतारवादमा आस्था राख्ने तिब्बती तथा सो धर्मका अन्य अनुयायीहरूको अवतारीले सम्पूर्ण अवस्थाको अध्ययन गर्नु, भविष्यवाणी गर्नु, व्यक्तिगत जीवनको भविष्यसम्बन्धी जानकारी दिनु र त्यस उपर विश्वास गरेमा धर्म हुन्छ भन्ने धारणा रहन गएको हुनाले यस संस्कृति र धर्मका मानिसहरूले अवतारीलाई ईश्वरको रूपमा पुज्ने हुँदा यो लेखमा अवतारीलाई लामालाई जगत् विशेषज्ञको रूपबाट हेरिएको छ ।

अवतारीहरू केवल धर्ममा मात्र व्यस्त नभई राजनीतिमा समेत हात हाल्न थाले । फलस्वरूप तिब्बतको सम्पूर्ण शासन अवतारी लामाको हातमा गयो जुन अवतारी लामाले शासन लिए त्यसलाई दलाई लामा भनिन थालियो । खोङ-चङ-गम्पोद्वारा स्थापित ल्हासाको रातो डाँडाको फो-दान-मार्पो नामक दरबारलाई अब पो-ता-ला दरबार भनी नामाकरण गरी सोही दरबारबाट शासन चलाउन थालियो । त्यस क्रममा अवतारी लामाहरू

53. Dass, op. cit.
54. Bell, op. cit,, P. 69.
55. Combi, op. cit., P. 18.
56. Bell, *Tibet : Past & Present*, op. cit., P. 32.
57. Stein, op. cit., P. 80.

जगत विशेषज्ञको रूपमा मात्र नदेखिई राजनैतिक विशेषज्ञ-का रूपमा पनि देखिन थाले ।

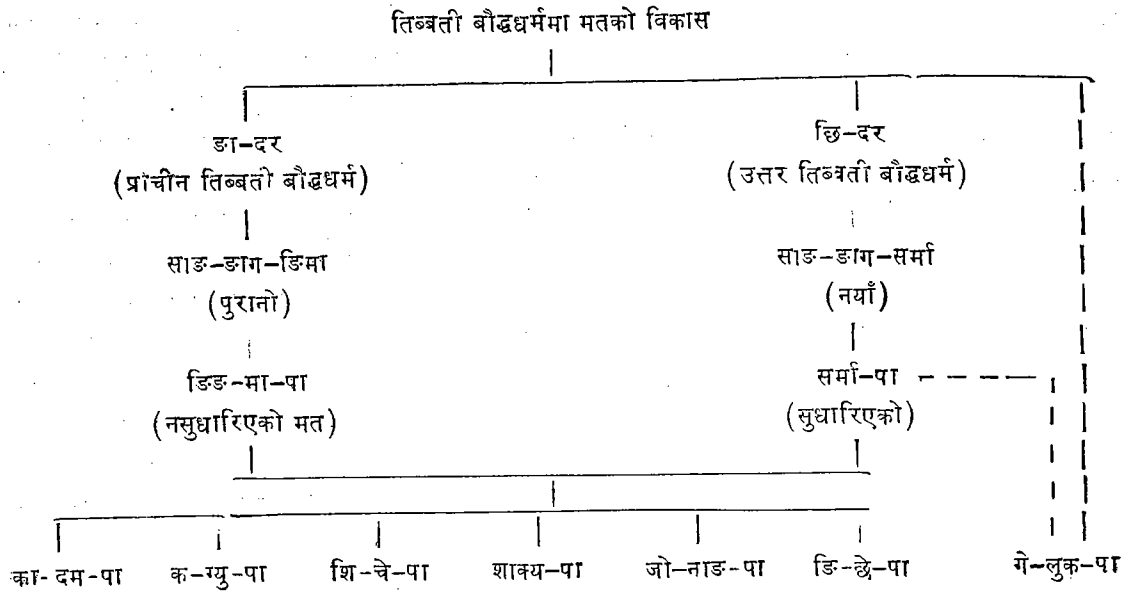
कसरी र कुन परिस्थितिमा गे लुक-पा मतको विकास भयो भन्ने कुरा जान्नुभन्दा अगाडि छोङ-खा-पाको विषयमा जान्नु जरूरी देखिन्छ । सन् १३५८ ई. मा उत्तर पूर्वी तिब्बतको आम्दो भन्ने जग्गामा छोङ-खा-पाको जन्म भएको थियो । उनी ३६ वर्षसम्म आफ्नो अध्ययनलाई जारी राखी अन्तमा एक असाधारण व्यक्तिको रूपमा देखा परे । सन् १४०० देखि १४०८ बीच गान-डेनमा एक गुम्बा बनाई सुधारात्मक नयाँ तिब्बती धार्मिक मतको परिचय दिए । गान डेनबाट यो मत प्रचार भएकोले गे-लुक-पा मतलाई गान-डेन-पा मत पनि भनिन थालियो । पछि गान-डेन-पा नामभन्दा गे-लुक-पा नाम नै प्रसिद्ध हुन गयो । गान–डेन गुम्बा बनेको केही वर्षपछि अर्थात् सन् १४१६ ई. मा ड्रे–पुङमा अर्को गुम्बा बन्यो । सन् १४१९ ई. मा सेरामा अर्को एउटा गुम्बाको निर्माण भयो र उल्लिखित तीन गुम्बाहरूबाट गे-लुक-पा मतको प्रचार हुन थाल्यो । बिस्तारै-बिस्तारै (१४३६–१४४४ ई) खाम क्षेत्रको छाम्दोमा र साङ क्षेत्रको टार्शीलिम्बो (१४४७ ई.) मा गुम्बाहरू बने ।

छोङ–खा–पाले १४०३ ई. तिर का-दम-पा गुम्बामा बसी आफ्ना कार्यहरू गरेका हुनाले शुरूमा उनले दिएका मतलाई नयाँ का-दम–पा पनि नभनिएको होइन । पछि गान-डेनबाट मत प्रचार गर्न थालेका हुनाले गान–डन–पा भन्न थालियो । उनले जे जति कार्यहरू गरे तापनि तिब्बती धार्मिक इतिहासमा उनका दुई कृति ज्यादै नै प्रशंसनीय मानिन्छन् । उनले लेखेका दुई कृति (ग्रन्थ) हरूलाई ह्लाम–रिम र ङाग रिम भनिन्छ ।[58] उनले लेखेका कृतिहरू प्रशंसनीय हुनाको मुख्य कारण अति सरल, छोटो, स्पष्ट तथा क्रमबद्ध भएकोले साधारण व्यक्तिले समेत बुझ्न सक्नाले हो । त्यसैकारणले पनि उनलाई जे-रिम-पो-चे भनिन्छ ।[59] पछि उनलाई चीनको बादशाहबाट निमन्त्रणा पनि आयो । तर आफू बेफुर्सती भएको हुनाले आफ्नो चेलो जेमछेन–छेज्जे–शाक्य–यश्यलाई पठाइदिए । चीनका बादशाहले उनलाई 'धर्मका राजा' भन्ने उपाधि पनि दिए ।

धार्मिक विकासको क्रममा छोङ-खा-पाको चेला ज्यामयाङबाट ड्रे–पुङमा र जेमछेन–छेज्जे-यश्यले सेरामा गुम्बा बनाए । ती गुम्बाहरू धार्मिक विधिविधानका लागि मात्र प्रयोग नभई विश्वविद्यालयको रूपमा पनि प्रयोग हुन थाले । विशेष गरी त्यहाँ मन्त्र, कालचक्र र औषधिसम्बन्धी जानकारी दिलाइन्थ्यो ।[60]

६१ वर्षको उमेरमा अर्थात् १४१९ ई. मा छोङ–खा-पाको मृत्युपछि उनका भतिजा गान्डेन–टुप्पा सर्वभन्दा ठूलो लामा बने । १४७४ ई. मा गान्डेन टुप्पाको मृत्यु भएको दुई वर्षपछि एक अनाथमाथि उनको आत्मा बस्न गएको विश्वास गरियो र उसलाई गान्डेन टुप्पाको अवतारी भनी घोषणा गरियो । यसरी तिब्बतमा लामा-हरूले अवतारमाथि विश्वास गर्न थाले । यो परम्परा तिब्बतमा मात्र सीमित नरही मंगोलियामा समेत फैलियो । तेस्रा प्रमुख लामा सोनाम ग्यात्सो (१५४६–१५८७ ई.) को पालामा मंगोल शासक अल्टन खाँ समेत प्रभावित भई आफूलाई दलाई लामा वज्रधर भनी घोषित गरे ।[61] तिब्बतीहरूको 'ग्यात्सो' र मंगोलहरूको 'दलाइ' शब्दले 'शागर' भन्ने अर्थ बुझाउँछ । पछि गएर तिब्बतीहरूले पनि 'दलाइ' शब्दलाई नै अनुकरण गर्न थाले ।

58. Stein, op. cit., P. 80.
59. Bell, *The Religion of Tibet*, op. cit., PP. 96-97.
60. Dass, op. cit., P. 209.
61. Gokhale, op. cit., P. 72; Burman, op. cit., P. 8.



पुनः राष्ट्रिय एकीकरण

१६४० ई. तिर पाँचौं दलाई लामा ङावाङ लोजाङले मंगोलियाको ओलेटलाई तिब्बती बौद्ध-धर्मका पुराना मतावलम्बीहरूसंग लड्नको लागि अनुरोध गरे र तिनीहरूलाई दबाउनुका साथै १६४०–१६४१ ई. देखि आफू सम्पूर्ण तिब्बती भूभागको शासक बनी पोताला दरबारबाट शासन चलाउन थाले। तत्पश्चात् तिब्बती शासकहरू अवतारी र दलाई लामाको नामबाट घोषित हुन थाले। सो क्रम चीनले तिब्बत नलेउन्जेलसम्म जारी नै रह्यो। तिब्बती इतिहासमा डिङ-मा पा मतावलम्बीहरू 'रातो टोपी' र गे लुक-पा मतावलम्बीहरू पहेंलो टोपीको रूपमा प्रसिद्ध छन्।

नेपालमा तिब्बती बौद्धधर्मको विस्तार

पन्ध्रौं शताब्दीपछि तिब्बती बौद्धधर्मको विस्तार मंगोलिया, लदाक्, सिक्किम, भुटान र नेपालमा हुँदै गयो। सिक्किममा कर्मा-पा मतको बढी प्रभाव परेको छ भने भुटानमा रुग–पा मतको बढी प्रभाव परेको छ। नेपालको उत्तर, उत्तर-पूर्वी र उत्तर-पश्चिमी क्षेत्रमा स्थानीय बासिन्दाहरूले मान्ने प्रमुख धर्म नै तिब्बती बौद्धधर्म हो। ताप्लेजुङको ओलाङचुङ गोला, संखुवासभाको किमाथाङ्का इलाका, सोलुखुम्बुको शेर्पा बस्ती क्षेत्र, दोलखाको विगु, लामोवगर, सिमीगाउँ, रोलवालिङ, सिन्धुपाल्चोकको हेलम्बु इलाका, रसुवाको लाङटाङ इलाका, मनाङ, लोमान थाङ (मुस्ताङ), डोल्पा, हुम्लाको लिमी इलाका, कास्कीको ह्यान्जा र अन्य हिमाली क्षेत्रहरूमा जहाँ जहाँ तिब्बती संस्कृतिको प्रभाव परेको छ सो ठाउँहरूका बासिन्दाहरूले तिब्बती बौद्धधर्मलाई अङ्गिकार गरेका छन्। तर सबै ठाउँहरूमा एकै किसिमको मत अपनाएको पाइँदैन। हुम्ला जिल्लाको माथिल्लो भेकमा क–ग्यु–पा र डिङ–मा–पा मतावलम्बीहरू छन्[62] भने १९३५ ई. पछि हेलम्बुमा क-ग्यु-पा मतको प्रचार भयो तापनि सो समय पूर्व हेलम्बुबासीहरू डिङ-मा-पा मतावलम्बी थिए।[63] हुनत ब्याङ-तर र कर-मा-पा मत पनि अपनाएको नपाइने

2 . Corneille Jest, *Monuments of Northern Nepal*, (UNESCO : 1981), PP. 48–49.
63. Ibid, P. 80.

होइन ।[64]

वागाङ, छुम र विगुमा स्थापित गुम्बाहरू पनि क-ग्यु-पा मतमा आधारित देखिन्छन् ।[65] मुस्ताङ जिल्लाको माथिल्लो भाग लु-मान-थाङ सा-क्य-पा मतमा प्रभावित छ भने सो जिल्लाको दक्षिणी भागमा क-ग्यु-पा र डिङ-मा-पा मतावलम्बीहरू देखिन्छन् ।[66] सोलुखुम्बु, रोल-वालिङ, सिमिगाउँका सम्पूर्ण शेर्पाहरू डिङ-मा-पा मतमा विश्वास राख्दछन् । धेरै पछि काठमाडौं उपत्यकाको बौद्ध र कप्पनमा चारैवटा मतलाई प्रतिनिधित्व गर्ने गरी गुम्बाहरू बनाइयो । स्वयम्भूनाथ क्षेत्रमा दुई मतमा आधारित भिन्दाभिन्दै गुम्बाहरू निर्मित भएकोमा एउटा कर-मा-पा गुम्बाको नामबाट प्रख्यात छ भने अर्को गे-लुक-पा मतसंग सम्बन्धित देखिन्छ । बूढानीलकण्ठदेखि करीब दुई घण्टा टाढा उत्तर-पूर्वी शिवपुरी डाँडामा,फर्फिङ-मा र कीर्तिपुरमा एक-एक वटा गुम्बाहरू निर्माण भएको पाइन्छ । काठमाडौं उपत्यकामा पाइने गुम्बाहरूमा सबैभन्दा पुरानो स्वयम्भूको टाकुरामा निर्मित कर-मा-पा गुम्बालाई मान्न सकिन्छ ।

नेपालमा तिब्बती बौद्धधर्मको प्रचार कहिलेदेखि भयो भन्ने बारेमा किटान गर्न गाह्रो पर्दछ तापनि पन्ध्रौं सोह्रौं शताब्दी ई. देखि व्यावहारिक क्षेत्रमा यसले प्रवेश गरेको अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ । कुङ्गा जाङ्गपो (१३८२-१४५७ ई.) को आत्मकथा अनुसार मुस्ताङमा यो धर्मले पन्ध्रौं शताब्दी ई. तिर प्रवेश गरेको बुझिन्छ र यसैलाई स्थानीय लामाहरूले विश्वास गरेका पनि छन् ।[67] नेपालमा शेर्पाहरूको स्थानान्तरणसम्बन्धी विचार गर्ने हो भने १५३० ई. या सोह्रौं शताब्दीमा सोलुखुम्बु आएको मानिन्छ ।[68] नेपालको उत्तर-पूर्वी क्षेत्रमा शेर्पाहरूको स्थानान्तरण हुनु नै तिब्बती बौद्धधर्मको पनि प्रवेश हुनु हो । जब तिब्बतमा 'रातो टोपी' (डिङ-मा-पा) लाई 'पहेंलो टोपी' (गे-लुक-पा) ले दमन गर्न थाल्यो तब रातो टोपी' ले नेपालमा क्रमिक रूपबाट स्थानान्तरण शुरू गऱ्यो र निरन्तर रूपमा यो मतलाई संरक्षण तथा सम्बर्द्धन गर्दै आए । सन् १९५९ मा तिब्बतलाई चीनले आफ्नो अधीनमा लिएपछि भागेर आएका तिब्बतीहरूले नेपालमा प्रशस्त मात्रामा गुम्बाहरू निर्माण गरी यहीं नै ज्ञान लिने दिने कार्य शुरू गरे । यस किसिमबाट नेपालमा तिब्बती बौद्धधर्मको प्रचार भए तापनि नेपालीको लागि यो कुनै नौलो धर्म थिएन । गौतम बुद्ध नै नेपालमा जन्मिएको हुनाले र अति प्राचीनकालदेखि नै नेपालीहरू बौद्धदर्शनसंग परिचित हुनुका साथै तिब्बती बौद्धधर्ममा पाइने दर्शन तथा सिद्धान्तहरू जति पनि छन् ती सबै भारतीय बौद्धदर्शनमा आधारित भएको हुनाले नेपालीहरूको लागि यो कुनै नौलो धर्म भएन ।

निष्कर्ष

जुनवेला तिब्बतमा बौद्धधर्मको प्रचार हुन थाल्यो त्यसैबेला बोन मतावलम्बीहरू र बौद्ध धर्मावलम्बीहरूका बीच निरन्तर रूपमा सङ्घर्ष जारी नै रह्यो । बौद्धधर्मले राजकीय संरक्षकत्व प्राप्त गर्दा पनि परम्परागत संस्कृति तथा धर्ममा आस्था राख्ने बोन मतावलम्बीहरूका आफ्नो-पनले गर्दा तिब्बती भूभागमा यो (बौद्ध) धर्मले स्थायित्व कायम गर्न निकै कठीन परेको बुझिन्छ । छिमेकी राज्यका बौद्ध विद्वान्हरू र स्वदेशका शक्तिशाली शासकहरू एकजूट हुँदा पनि बोनधर्म नष्ट नभएबाट स्पष्ट हुन्छ कि यसले तिब्बती समाजमा कतिसम्म प्रभाव पारेको रहेछ ।

वास्तवमा तिब्बतमा भारतीय बौद्धधर्मको प्रचार भयो र अन्तमा यसलाई तिब्बतीहरूले समष्टिरूपबाट आफ्नो देश, माटो, हावा, पानी, जनधारणा र समाजको

64. Graham Clarke, "Lama and Tamang in Yolmo", Ib Michael Aris and Aung Sau Suu Kyi (Ed.), *Tibetan Studies*, (New Delhi : Vikash Publishing House, 1980), Fote note-11, P. 85.
65. Jest, op. cit., P. 80.
66. Ibid, P. 54.
67. Ibid.
68. Michael Oppitz,"Myths and Facts : Reconsidering some data concerning the clan of the Sherpa", *Kailash*, (Vol. II, No..... 1974), PP.....

वातावरण अनुकूल सुहाउने गरी तिब्बतीय ढङ्गबाट विकास गरे । यसरी तिब्बतमा बौद्धधर्मको प्रचार र प्रसार गराउनमा नेपाल र नेपाली जनताले ठूलो भूमिका खेलेको कुरा बिर्सन सकिंदैन । ज्यान जोगाउन समेत अप्ठ्यारो अवस्थामा परेको महसूस भएपछि निराश भई फर्केका शान्तरक्षितलाई नेपालमा नै आश्रय दिनु, पद्मसंभवले तिब्बतको तात्कालिक अवस्थाबारे नेपालबाटै जानकारी लिनु, समय-समयमा र विशेष कठीन परिस्थितिमा तिब्बती भिक्षुहरू नेपाल आई ज्ञानार्जन गर्नु र खासगरी पश्चिम तिब्बतमा धर्मप्रचारको लागि धार्मिक प्रवेशद्वारको रूपमा अवस्थित भएबाट तिब्बतमा बौद्धधर्म प्रचार गराउनमा नेपालले के कति सहयोग गरेको रहेछ भन्ने कुरा छर्लङ्गिन्छ । त्यतिमात्र नभई भारत र तिब्बतको बीचमा नेपाल अवस्थित भएको हुनाले नै भारतीय बौद्ध विद्वान्-हरूलाई तिब्बतमा बौद्धधर्म प्रचार गर्न ज्यादै सजिलो भयो । जे जसरी भएपनि बौद्धधर्मले तिब्बती समाजमा जरो गाडेपछि सो देशको संस्कृति नै बौद्धधर्ममा परिवर्तन भयो ।

आधुनिक तिब्बती परिप्रेक्ष्यमा बौद्धधर्मका ऐतिहासिक कट्टर विरोधी बोन मतावलम्बीहरूको स्थायित्व त्यति नभए तापनि अल्पसंख्यक रूपमा यी मतावलम्बीहरू अझै पनि नेपालको कुना-काप्चामाछ रिएर बसेका पाइन्छन् । मुस्ताङ्ग जिल्लाको सदरमुकाम जोमसोमदेखि उत्तर-पूर्व अवस्थित लुप्रागलाई अझै पनि बोन्पोको मुख्य केन्द्र मानिएबाट स्पष्ट हुन्छ कि नेपाल र नेपालीले कुनैपनि धर्मलाई हेलाको दृष्टिले नहेरी बरु त्यसलाई संरक्षण र सम्बर्द्धन गर्नमा जोड दिइने परम्परा प्राचीन, मध्य र आधुनिक तीनै कालमा पाइनु यो नेपाली संस्कृतिको आफ्नै किसिमको विशेषता हो ।

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प्रधानमन्त्री जंगबहादुर राणाका समयको नेपाल–भोट युद्धका ऐतिहासिक सामग्री

(गताङ्कको बाँकी)

८ थुम्थुम्को भला मानिस थरि मुषिया मिझार गौरु हरूले राजीसंग दियाको भाउ –

पैंन्या गोदामको भाउ मोहरुं पिया १ के –

फल्याको चावल पाथि – ९ फल्याको कोदो पाथि १२ के पीथो

मास माथि – ५ धानि – १७९

मकै पाथि १२ के पीथो धानि १७९ सिन्कि पाथि – ६

सिमि पाथि – ।८ पीना पाथि ।५

च्यूरा पाथि – ।७।४ कागुना पाथि १४

फापर पाथि – १२

– – –

गोम् थान् गोदामको भाउ मोहरुं १ के –

फल्याको चामल पाथि – ।५।४ फल्याको कोदो पाथि १२।

मास पाथि – ४ ऐको पिथो धानि – १७९

सिमि पाथि – ।१० मकै पाथि १२ के पिथो धानि १७९

पिना पाथि – ४ सिनिक पाथि – ६

कागुना पाथि – १२ च्यूरा पाथि – ।६।४

फापर पाथि – १२

– – –

लिस्ति गोदामको भाउ मोहरुं १ को –

फल्याको चावल पाथि – ।५ मास पाथि – ।३।४

सिमि पाथि – ।८ पिना पाथि – ।३।४

कागुना पाथि – ।१२ फल्याको कोदो पाथि १२ के पिथो धानि – १७९

मकै पाथि १२ के पीथो धानि – १७।९ सिन्कि पाथि ६

च्युरा पाथि – ।६ फापर पाथि – १२

– – –

तिनै गोदाममा मकैको सातु मोहरुं १ के धानि १ १६

– – –

तेस्तै विचमा तास्सेज्मादर र पुन्याकाप गरि झुपुन मुषियाहरूलाई पुराना ताक लाषारमा श्री बादशाहका हुकुमले वस्याका झोर्छोप् टेकाढेवार सिषाहि पगरिहरूले लेष्याको उप्रांत अघि जेष्ठ मैह्नामा ताहावाट लेख्याका चिठीमा दोसाधमा २ तर्फका सबैको वेपार गर्न्या वन्देजको वन्दोवस्त गरुं भन्या चिठी १ षोष्याग्याहस्ते आइपुग्यो. अर्थ मालुम भयो. आहा दोसाधमा अंत २ पनि भोट सर्कारवाट चिठी आयो. यो सालमा येसतर्फ जाच गर्न चाडै आउंछ.तसर्थ अह्लै फुर्सत पाएन. भदौ असोजमा वन्दोवस्त गरुं. भन्या तपनि आहा झौ छोप्नेको पगरि रकमि सवै घरमा सामेल हुनु जानु पर्‍यो. उस ताकमा ताहावाट चार जना मानिस षोष्यामा आई थिति वन्देज गर्न्या कुरा कहानि भयेछ. हामी ढेवा पगरिहरू घरवाट फिर्‍या वित्तिकै वन्दोवस्त गर्नु. चिठी लेषि पठाउला भन्या कुरा गरि पठायेछ षोष्यामा धेवुले कार्तिक वदि ३ रोजका दिन आहावाट चिठी लेषि पठायाको छ ताहावाट चिठीको उत्रा केही आएन. अव मार्गशिर वदी २।३ मा आहा षोष्याका तिमी हरू पगरि रकमी सर्व आउनु होला. ताहा तपाईको अह्लै फुर्सत नपाया चैत वैशाखमा थिति वन्देज गरुंला. चिठी लि आउन्या मानिसहस्ते पत्रउत्रा पठाउनु होला ११ साल कार्तिक सुदि ४ रोज मुकाम पुराना ताकलाषार शुभम्—

(क्रमशः)

ऐतिहासिक पत्र–स्तम्भ

स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महाराजधिराजकस्य रुक्का –

आगे वषत वार सिंह के चयनपुरका लगमाहां वषत सुन्दर हिटीको घडचारी चनौय्या व्यासी षोला रुम्टो हाँलुङ् खरक तस्को सांध पूर्व चुन ढुङ्ग्या थुंको दक्षिण फलाटचा थुंको पश्चिम ढुंग्या गौडो उत्तर हिमाखोलो इति ४ किल्ला भित्रको जग्गा हिटी वघैचा सहार गर्न निमित्ये वक्स्यौ आफ्ना षातिर्ज्मासित घडचारी जानि भोग गर इति संवत् १८४८ साल मिति पौष वदी रोज ३ शुभम्

स्वस्तिश्री चौतरिया प्राणशाहकस्य पत्रम्–

आगे चएन्पूरका लगामा श्री काजि वषतवार सिंह वस्न्यातले वषत सुन्दरहिटी मनराजि वघैचा बनाई – १ वाट मोहर गरि ब्राह्मणलाई राष्याको रहेछ अघिका मोहर बमोजिमको जगा लाल ढडादेषि बाहिर राषि—वाट मोरु २ गरि वक्सनु भयाको सुयेदार हरिभक्तले चलं गराई दिया बमोजिम हामिले पनि थामिदियाको छ चलं गर आहाँबाट जान्या हाम्रा कारोवारिले पनि टंटा नगर इति संवत् १८७१ साल ज्येष्ठ वदि ११ रोज १ शुभम्—

श्री

श्री ५ सर्कार २ श्री शिव ३

श्री बाबाज्यू १ श्री बाबाज्यू ४

स्वस्तिश्री लेफ्टेन मदनमान्सिह वस्न्यातकस्य पत्रम्

आगे धनपति पाध्या वृहस्पति पाध्या महिपति पाध्या गोताम्या भाइ समेतके चयनपुरका अम्वल सिद्धि पुरमा लडाजी हुँदा हाम्रा १ वाट हानमार गरी वषत सुन्दर हिटी मनराजी वघैचा बनाइ २ मा विति पारि त्यो गुठी जगाको लालमोहर गराइ तिम्रा बाबा तुलाराम पाध्या गोताम्यालाइ कुल कपिला समेत लगि वस भनि राष्याको रहेछ पछि तिम्हेरूले पौवा बनाइ ३ स्थापना गरि जात··· विरुवा लगाइ वघैचा गुलजार गर्दा १ वाट वन्दोवस्त गरि दिया बमोजिम ४ वाट पनि दस्कत गरिदिनु भयाको रहेछ आज हामीवाट पनि सो बमोजिम थामि दियाकै छ। वघैचामा जात जातका विरुवा लगाउनु गाउँघर गुल्जार गर्नु हिटी वघैचाको चिताइ नगरी हेमायत गर्यो रैतिलाई गाउँ घरमा नराषनु गुठीका षेत पाषाको पैदावार जो उठ्छ तेसले पौवा हिटी वघैचाको मर्मता र रोज रोजका पूजाको षर्च अक्षता गर्नु नागपंचमीमा ब्राह्मण भोजन गराउनु गुठी भित्रका कुरियालाई वघैचाको काम लगाउनु जोगी संन्यासी फकिर फगेडा ब्राह्मण भला आदिम आउंदा वेला वेलाको फलफुल र कागति ज्यावित निवुवाको चुक् तेस वघैचामा फल्याका रुद्राक्ष ठुला ठुला दाना हामीसंग दाषिल गर्नु भन्या वन्देज वाधि अधि भयाका लालमोहर मुषत्यार भारादारका दस्कत र १ ४ हरूबाट गरिदिनु भयाका दस्कत बमोजीम आजसम्म तिम्हेरुले चर्न्या वेहोर्न्याका गुठीको जग्गा षेत पाषो आज हामीवाट पनि थामि दस्कत गरि दिन्यूं आफ्ना षातिर्ज्मासित जगा आवाद गुल्जार गरि –२– को जय मनाइ हामीलाई आसीर्वाद दि चलं गरि वस इति संवत् १९०७ साल मिति फाल्गुण वदी १२ रोज शुभम्—

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Mr. Corneille Jest	–	Anthropologist and UNESCO Consultant.
Mr. Devendra Nath Tiwari	–	Chief, Western Regional Museum, Kapilvastu.
Mr. Shankar Man Rajvanshi	–	Editor, National Archives, (Dept. of Archaeology), H.M.G., Nepal.
Mr. Ramesh Raj Kunwar	–	Lecturer, Kirtipur Campus (Dept. of Nepaleso History, Culture & Archaeology), T. U., Nepal.

'प्राचीन नेपाल' का निमित्त प्राग्–इतिहास तथा पुरातत्त्व, लिपिविज्ञान, हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ, मुद्राशास्त्र, अभिलेख, नृतत्त्वशास्त्र, संग्रहालय तथा ललितकलासंग सम्बन्धित मौलिक रचनाको माग गरिन्छ।

रचना संक्षिप्त तथा प्रामाणिक हुनुका साथै अद्यापि अप्रकाशित हुनुपर्दछ। तर कुनै प्रकाशित विषयका सम्बन्धमा नयाँ सिद्धान्त र प्रमाण प्रस्तुत गरिएको भए तिनको स्वागत गरिनेछ।

रचनासंग सम्बन्धित चित्रहरू पठाउन सकिनेछ। रचना पृष्ठको अग्रभागमा मात्र लेखिएको हुनुपर्नेछ। प्रकाशित लेखहरूमा व्यक्त गरिएको भावना वा मत सम्बन्धित लेखकको हो।

महानिर्देशक
पुरातत्त्व विभाग
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Contribution of original nature dealing with pre-historic and field-archaeology, epigraphy, manuscripts, numismatics, archives, art, anthropology and architecture of Nepal and museum and other techniques connected with various aspects of our work are invited to **'Ancient Nepal'.**

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The Director General
Department of Archaeology
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Kathmandu, Nepal.